

THE

JUN 2 1940

LIVING AGE

The World in Review

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Fifth Column Near Our Border

By Stephen Naft

Hypodermic for Liberalism

Moses J. Aronson FILE

Must We Fight Over Dutch Indies?

Upton Close

France Wants No Peace Talk—Now

Odette Keun

African Home for Negroes

Sen. Theodore G. Bilbo

Union Now for Latin America

Anibal Jara

Admiral Mahan and Sea Power Today

H. C. Ferraby

The Soviet Union and the Balkans

Albert Mousset FILE

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THE GUIDE POST

MOSES J. ARONSON, who this month contributes *A Hypodermic for Liberalism*, (p. 308) is now on sabbatical leave from the College of the City of New York, where he is a professor in the department of philosophy. He finds time also to edit the *Journal of Political Philosophy*, and he has achieved eminence in his special field.

The author of *A Fifth Column* (p. 313), Stephen Naft, is a staff member of *The Living Age* and was formerly foreign news-editor of the French *Agence Havas*, New York.

Youthful Nations (p. 317) was written by Lancelot Forster, who is a professor of education at the University of Hong Kong. Among his published works is *China and America*.

UPTON CLOSE—*Must We Fight Over Dutch Indies?* (p. 321)—is the pen name of Josef Washington Hall; he has written several books on the Far East, and has been a newspaper correspondent in China, Japan and Siberia. He has the distinction of having served as chief of foreign affairs under the Wu Pei-fu government in 1922. Mr. Close is a tireless lecturer, and at intervals he is heard on the air, interpreting events in the Orient.

The amount of exportable ore in Sweden, and Germany's ability to get at it, may be one of the determining factors in the outcome of the gigantic struggle today in Europe. *A War Prize: Sweden's Ore* (p. 324), by Naboth Hedin, discusses in detail a subject too much generalized about in past weeks.

THEODORE G. BILRO — *An African Home for Our Negroes*—is that highly articulate member of the "most exclusive club in the world," the United States Senate, to which he was elected in 1935, after serving two terms as governor of Mississippi.
(Continued on next page)

THE LIVING AGE

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THE GUIDE POST

(Continued)

sippi. He has discussed his controversial subject on the floor of the upper house, where he introduced a bill to provide for emigration of our Negroes to Africa.

The Soviet Union and the Balkans (p. 336) is by Albert Mousset, who contributes regularly to *Le Temps*, commonly accepted as the unofficial mouthpiece of the French Government. That venerable newspaper, incidentally, has not hesitated to urge an Allied declaration of war upon the Soviet Union.

Hamelin's Children (p. 339), by Janet Leeper, describes the exodus of children out of British metropolitan centers, a task that is now being undertaken in every belligerent nation and even in some "non-belligerent" countries, such as Sweden. Aside from the physical dangers involved, the enormous financial cost, this exodus poses a knotty problem in primary education.

Union Now for Latin-America (p. 344), by Anibal Jara, is an analysis of Pan Americanism, such as it is—or isn't, in the author's view. He is consul general of Chile in the United States, with headquarters in New York City. His article is an elaboration of an address he made before the *Living Age* Forum this spring.

The writer of *Admiral Mahan and Sea Power Today* (p. 354), H. C. Ferraby, is a well-known British naval authority and journalist. He was official naval war correspondent in 1914-18. Among his books are *The Immortal Story of Zeebrugge* and *The Imperial British Navy*.

Labor Movements in this War (p. 366), by Arnold Roller, reflects the impact of the war upon labor throughout the world. The name of the author is the nom de plume of a journalist in New York. He sees the onetime solidarity of the workingman disrupted by the huge demands of the war.

THE LIVING AGE

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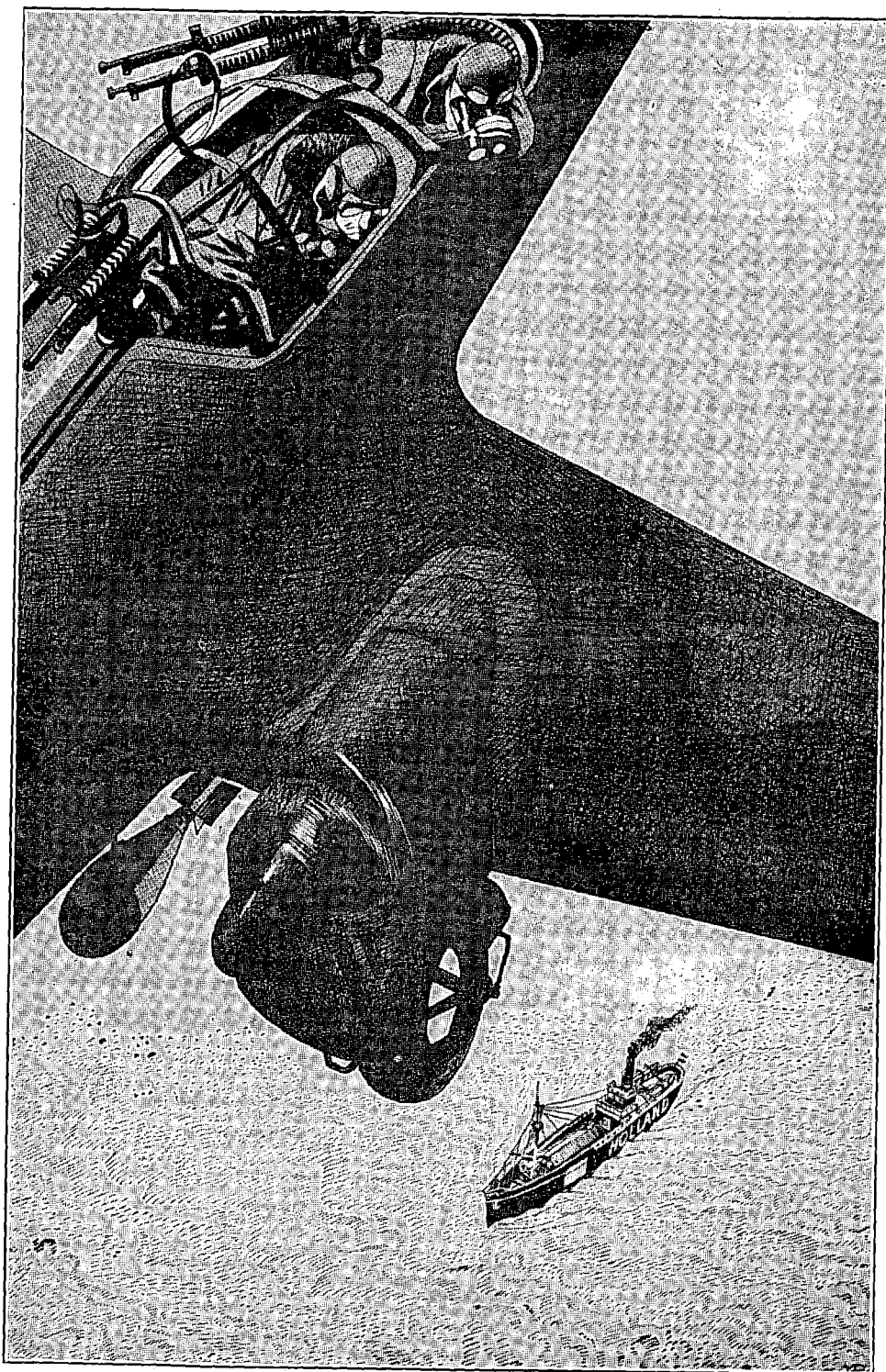
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Destroy it—They can't fight back

—Haagsche Post

THE LIVING AGE

Founded by E. Littell

In 1844



June 1940

Volume 358, Number 4485

The World Over

AMERICANS who have lived beyond these shores for any length of time are familiar with the foreign view of us, as a mercenary and unimaginative people: "dollar diplomacy," "Uncle Shylock" and so on. In cartoons and in type, to the east and the west of us, Uncle Sam is presented as a wily old gentleman with his eye on the main chance, who will only shell out a philanthropic dollar if it is satisfactorily demonstrated to him that five are coming back, fast. The picture is just enough out of focus to be regarded abroad as a characteristic of the 130,000,000 people who live in the United States, as a presumed fact that anyone who reads would not dispute.

The impact, upon these 130,000,000 people, of what occurred in Europe in the first half of May strikes us as destructive of the caricature of Uncle Sam as a bloodless old money-

bags, unconcerned with the slaughter of mankind a few hours away. We have had occasion before to point to the mercurial and emotional temperament of Americans: suddenly your elevator-operator has it on celestial authority that three German cruisers are shelling our Atlantic seaboard (as a U-boat did, in fact, in 1917); and that proverbial source of omniscience, the taxi driver, says with perspiring conviction he is lucky that his wife's cousin has three acres in Oklahoma where he can hole in, if he has to. Messrs. Elmer Davis and Raymond Gram Swing imply to a vast audience that democracy, as symbolized by France and Britain, is dying, and the Stock Exchange undergoes an acute hangover.

If we can find an American, some indigenous animal who thinks and talks American, let us examine him. He is quick to donate to the current

Red Cross drive for refugee aid and, at this moment, he is of two minds about an abstraction called isolationism. He is not going in himself, or see his son go in; but he is so damned sore. . . .

Almost a decade ago Walter Millis wrote a book of recent history called *The Road to War*. Doubtless most readers know it, and will recall it was not a pacifist diatribe, but an exposition of the fortuitous tangents of popular sentiment in this country. The Scripps-Howard newspapers a few years ago had the good sense to paraphrase it in instalments, and the publishers perhaps took a loss in reissuing it.

To our mind, the American has not become less voluble and vehement and unpredictable in a quarter of a century, and as an effective antidote to headlines we suggest a re-reading.

Policy

The American public has become acutely conscious of propaganda, a healthy sign in this day when words have become as potent weapons of war as are machine guns. Although the newspaper and magazine press in this country for many months has warned readers to be on guard against propaganda, an ironic consequence of these adjurations is that, at times, its editors are themselves accused of serving as propagandists.

In past months *The Living Age* has designedly published official propaganda on occasions, clearly indicating its governmental source, on grounds that it is interesting and educational to examine the argument and the technique of official handouts. Incidentally, this magazine has also pub-

lished articles signed by staff members criticizing propaganda of foreign nations as sometimes incredibly inept. We overheard recently a remark that this magazine, America's oldest monthly, is in the hire of a foreign government: the response we feel impelled to make is, if this be so, the investment is obviously wasted.

The fact manifest to the adult reader is, of course, that any writing on foreign affairs today is propaganda of one sort or another, and that any point of view on a controversial issue is certain to be friendly—or less hostile—to one side of a given argument. The policy of *The Living Age*, so far as it is possible, is to give both sides of each controversy, to give our readers all the available propaganda. The effect is that propaganda thus cancels itself out.

Because so much of the press abroad today is so blatantly propagandist, and fairly dull reading, *The Living Age*, the past year, has published an increasing number of original articles by American experts in their respective foreign fields. We have attempted also to fill the increasing gaps left by the demise or suppression of foreign periodicals.

The aim of the editors is now, as in past years, to sit back and parade the world in objective review. Any other view of these aims can be maintained only by partisans, demagogues or calumniators, and their thesis is belied by facts.

'New' War Tactics

THE clock turns back, and military history repeats itself. In this age of mechanical predominance and blitzkrieg, astute German generals

have gone back eighty years or more for a lesson in tactic. Their teacher, an American, is recognized in this country as a great general, but his real genius has been fully appreciated only on the continent of Europe. Hitler's great helpmate is that master of the military science of movement, General Robert E. Lee, spark plug and generator of the Confederate army.

Casual observers, even, have long been aware of the fact that Germany was studying the tactical plan of the Battle of Gettysburg. What use that plan would one day be put to was not dreamed. The difficulties surrounding a study of the Battle of Gettysburg are tremendous, since General Lee left no official plans of the battle. Most of the documentary evidence that remained after the war between the North and the South was lost or destroyed during the period of reconstruction.

Of course, all nations have been interested in the "Valley Campaign" and other efforts of General Lee. Army men, from West Point cadets to War College veterans, have studied the Valley Campaign from documents and by personal observation of the terrain. Even the old Prussian military hierarchy under the Kaiser made frequent pilgrimages to Gettysburg. And after the advent of Hitler it became almost a military shrine, at which tourists could almost always find a couple of German military men inspecting Cemetery Ridge, Peach Orchard, Wheat Field or Seminary Ridge.

What these German officers learned was manifold. First of all they learned a lesson in the value of mobility and the uses to which a series of mobile columns can be put. They learned the

fine art of the mass feint and many other lessons. These lessons were put to a practical test in Poland, Denmark and Holland. The manner in which these tests were made is a curious commentary on the process of German military thinking. They were not made in logical sequence but rather in inverse sequence to the order in which they were to be used against Belgium and France.

First, in Poland, Hitler's generals tested the pincers tactic as used by General Lee. Then in Norway they tried Lee's exploding-wave tactic. When these both proved sound they combined the two movements into an exploding wave followed by a pincers movement by the elements of the component parts. This was Lee's tactic.

Hitler's generals are using many other Lee tactics, in which the lay reader will have too little interest to warrant further exposition. But we cite the above military facts to illustrate the thesis with which we started out—that Hitler's generals are leaning heavily on American precedent for military plans. In fact they have even gone back to Black Hawk days to borrow a few tricks from the Indians. However, the important element to keep in mind is the manner in which the Germans have made use of this information; first it is scrambled, then unscrambled. Here we have a consistency with Germany's political method that is notable. In all departments of her national life Germany is seeking victory through confusion.

Aide-Memoire

AT THIS moment when the immediate future of the Dutch East Indies is uncertain, and Japan is ex-

postulating that she has no intention of disturbing the status quo, it may be relevant to recall to memory a simple device long favored and profitably used by Adolf Hitler. Briefly, it consists of stating categorically that he has not the slightest intention of encroaching upon a neighbor, of looking pained and exasperated when anyone doubts his solemn word—and of jumping in with both feet when the world is about ready to believe him.

We wish to draw no strained comparisons nor any moral with respect to Japan, but of some pertinence to the situation today of Tokyo vis-à-vis the Dutch East Indies is this paragraph from the April issue of *Contemporary Japan*, headed "Our South Sea Policy":

"During debate on the budget in the House of Representatives on February 9, Foreign Minister Hachiro Arita pointed out, regarding Japan's southern policy, that 'the Japanese Empire intends to draw closer its economic bonds with southern countries, but entertains no territorial designs. The Government desires to take effective measures to dispel deep-rooted and widespread misunderstanding abroad that Japan has territorial ambitions in the southern regions. As regards a non-aggression pact, it will certainly be one of the measures for the purpose, if only the other party is agreeable to the idea.'"

It is obvious that the "other party," in this instance the harassed Netherlands Government in exile in London, would breathlessly accept the implied invitation of Mr. Arita, if he wants to repeat it. To judge by an article elsewhere in this issue by Mr. Upton Close, that invitation will not be forth-

coming at this time.

Commercially speaking, the war in Europe is a gift from the gods to Japan, whose own prolonged blitzkrieg in China has proved a severe strain upon her economy. Certain basic industries in the United States, like steel, for example, will be increasingly preoccupied with Allied orders, since the apparent loss to Britain and France of the normal supply from Belgium and Luxembourg, not to cite the cessation of iron-ore imports from Sweden and Norway. Those American industries—aside from airplane plants—which are now called upon by the Allies will understandably become less interested in sales to Latin America, which is not always the easiest nor the most profitable market with which to deal. Meanwhile, Japan will pick up in Latin America, and in other of our shrinking markets overseas, whatever our manufacturers and exporters choose to ignore because of their natural preference for cash transactions with the Allies, and the attendant rapid turnover.

In recent weeks, it may be noted, Japan has concluded a new trade agreement with the Argentine. Others are pending between Tokyo and the governments of Mexico, Paraguay and, incidentally, with Franco's Spain. Readers who recall Ernest O. Hauser's article in the May *Living Age*, stressing the matchless salesmanship of the Nipponese and their new ingenuity in industrial design and adaptation, will realize how serious Japanese competition may become to future American sales in Latin America. Long-visioned businessmen here will do well to keep in mind that the

Allied market is only good as long as it lasts, and that whichever side wins, in the impoverished peace that follows, our manufacturers must turn their eyes again to Latin America.

Fifth Column

EVERY major upheaval in human history has created new words and phrases, many of which have become permanent assets of language. Thus the French Revolution permanently enriched the French language by more than 1,500 words, the Russian Revolution added about 2,000 words and the previous World War contributed many new terms which have survived to see the new one. This war, young as it is, has already brought into general use a new vocabulary of blitzkrieg, black-out, totalitarian war, etc.

Among the more recent expressions, "fifth column" was introduced to America during the Spanish Civil War, supposedly first in one of Ernest Hemingway's war dispatches. While Franco's army, which was divided into four large corps or columns, attacked from outside, many of his secret adherents remained in the loyalist-held cities, particularly Madrid and Barcelona, sending out information by radio about the plans of the Government, committing acts of sabotage and occasional solitary assassinations of Republican leaders. The insurgents themselves first bragged about their "fifth column," the loyalists took it up and it came into general use.

(As indicated in *A Fifth Column Near Our Borders* on page 313, "fifth columns" are not necessarily European.)

The "Trojan horse" is not quite

the same thing, though closely related. The "fifth column" is made up of native sympathizers of the aggressors. "Trojan horse" tactics consist of introducing masses of alien enemies into a neutral country (prior to overt aggression), either legally in the guise of harmless travellers and merchant seamen, or hidden in the interior of unsuspected merchant ships, so that when an attack is made it comes from both within and without. The original "Trojan horse" was, of course, the legendary wooden horse filled with soldiers which the Greeks wheeled into Troy when they found they could not take the city by siege.

The Nazi Lincoln

WE THINK readers may be interested, and perhaps astonished, to learn that the Nazis have adopted Abraham Lincoln. It is true, of course, that American Communists established a prior lien a few years ago, and indeed also staked out a claim upon George Washington, arguing volubly in the *Daily Worker* of New York and elsewhere that these two towering figures in American history were, in their concern for the other fellow, the original American Communists, whether they liked it or not. Now the Nazis, who are profitably adopting to their uses all the communist tricks, have reached out to seize Honest Abe.

From Germany, via Siberia, comes to us the latest edition of *American Views*, to which reference was made in an article in *Living Age* last February. This is the supplement to *News From Germany*, a propaganda letter which editors, professors, commentators and suchlike, together with thou-

sands of telephone subscribers picked at random in this country, receive every month. In Supplement No. 8, the editor of *American Views*, one H. R. Hoffmann of Starnberg, Bavaria, leads off with this title: *Abraham Lincoln, the Symbol of American Honesty, Perseverance and Fortitude*. We are then given this preface by Herr Hoffmann:

"I am with pleasure publishing the following article as written by one of my American readers [identity undisclosed]. The German people know and appreciate the admirable qualities of the truly great American, Abraham Lincoln, an unpretentious man of the people, who with a nobility of soul and purpose has gone down in history as an outstanding exponent of honesty, beneficence and rugged courage, a representative of true Americanism. Abraham Lincoln in his historic greatness belongs to the ages, his personality lives on in the memory not only of his own people but also in the minds and hearts of all those in the world who respect and honor the life, work and wisdom of a Great Soul."

The ensuing article by "one of my American readers" gives the vital statistics pertaining to Mr. Lincoln, in capsule form, and then, by means of a billowing non-sequitur, observes that "the map-makers of 1919, lacking the foresight and honesty of purpose of a Lincoln, proceeded on the theory that a house divided against itself could stand. . . . Contrary to the creed of Lincoln, the politicians of twenty-one years ago reversed his words and laid down a new European map which reflected their belief in 'charity for none, and malice toward

all.' " But a couple hundred words later we return to the relevant and learn that the Sage of Springfield was not only an Aryan but "was himself [i.e., with Hitler] a practical mystic and to some extent a seer. . . ." Lincoln, it appears, was an early National Socialist, just as in the Communist view he was one of the predecessors of Lenin and Stalin, presumably a man far in advance of his time. "He knew that you may fool some of the people part of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool ALL THE PEOPLE ALL THE TIME!!!—An American." The pianissimo upper-case and the triple-barrelled exclamations are those of "An American," not Mr. Lincoln's.

In loyal imitation of the Communists, the Nazis, we suppose, will next embrace George Washington, although it is conceivable that Dr. Goebbels may hesitate over this adoption since General Washington's forebears were English—that is to say, doubtless non-Aryan plutocrats.

The 'News' Must Go On

WHATEVER else may be thought of them, the Nazis are full of initiative and ingenuity in directions other than military. German newspapers were routed to American subscribers, until a few weeks ago, by way of Scandinavian, Dutch, Belgian and Italian ships. Since then two events have occurred. The Allied blockade has been tightened, evidently to include examination of cargoes of west-bound neutrals and, of more importance, the west-bound maritime traffic of Scandinavia has been extinguished as has, to all practical purposes, that of The

Netherlands and Belgium. Moreover, by methods of delay and calculated red tape at Gibraltar, the British have been ham-stringing west-bound Italian freighters.

In the Allies' eyes, evidently, German newspapers are contraband, although precisely why is difficult for a neutral reader to understand: as a short piece elsewhere in this issue, dealing with the calliope-headlines of the *Völkischer Beobachter*, attests, no one of adult mind need fear the insidious from the German press today, unless it is the deluded German people themselves. In any event, Dr. Otto Dietrich, the German press chief, now routes his America-bound newspapers via Siberia, and a number of Nazi newspapers come to our offices so inscribed (providing, incidentally, a philatelic novelty for those afflicted with the mild aberration of snatching all foreign stamps in sight, or waiting, open-mouthed, drooling and trembling, while the non-collector, a normal human being in possession of all his faculties, opens a letter from Patagonia and just misses mutilating the stamp). These German newspapers and magazines, re-routed to the United States via Vladivostok and the Pacific, necessarily arrive later than before, but at least they arrive, whereas frequently via the Atlantic route there were many missing issues, due probably to the pestiferous British.

The fact also that they do arrive, even tardily, after nearly circumnavigating the globe, is more than may be said now of the Scandinavian newspapers, which apparently have gone into a totalitarian eclipse for the duration of the war.

But the latest device of the Nazi Ministry of National Enlightenment and Propaganda is the dispatch abroad of special newspaper editions by air mail. We have at hand a copy of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, expensively printed on thin India paper, bearing on the first-class envelope the imprint *Luftpost Wochenausgabe* (weekly airmail edition). This is routed to Italy by air, thence by plane to Lisbon, and to this country by transatlantic clipper.

We feel we should be able to say, in reward for this initiative (and cash outlay of some 50 cents postage) that this edition of the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (dated May 1, and a week in transit) contains something of special import, since it was dispatched from Germany with such urgency. But page one is devoted again to a tale of the British "plutocratic complot" against Norway, nipped in the bud by the Reichswehr, peans of praise for the demonstration of Russian military genius in Finland, "Men and Marble Statues," which is a glorification of the Duce and his subordinates, etc., etc.

THE LIVING AGE was established by E. Littell, in Boston, Massachusetts, May 1844. It was first known as LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, succeeding *Littell's Museum of Foreign Literature*, which had been previously published in Philadelphia for more than twenty years. In a prepublication announcement of LITTELL'S LIVING AGE, in 1844, Mr. Littell said: "The steamship has brought Europe, Asia, and Africa into our neighborhood; and will greatly multiply our connections, as Merchants, Travelers, and Politicians, with all parts of the world; so that much more than ever, it now becomes every intelligent American to be informed of the condition and changes of foreign countries."

Negative character of democracy
drives our youth to totalitarianism

A Hypodermic for Liberalism

By MOSES J. ARONSON

EVERY year, in June, thousands of young men and women are graduated from our universities and professional schools. These young men and women are for the most part well-trained and highly competent technicians, scientists, lawyers, physicians and teachers eager to apply in practical life the talents which in school they were taught to discipline and to perfect. But these educated and alert members of the "liberal professions" today find no satisfactory outlet for their abilities. These graduates from our universities soon are made to realize by cruel experience that they have been thrust into a civilization which puts no premium upon their competence, and which permits talent to go to waste at a time when ignorance and corruption undermine the national existence. Intelligent, competent and young, they rebel against the irrationality of a social arrangement which frustrates their talents, and which thwarts the expression of their acknowledged capacities.

Varying with the contingencies of social background and temperamental bias, these disgruntled but youthful "experts" manifest their legitimate resentment by swelling the ranks of communism and fascism. Liberalism, to them, is a dead alternative, for in it they discern the very cause of the present debacle of civilization.

In Germany, Italy and Russia the ideology of liberalism has been definitely rejected, while in France, England and the United States the principles of democracy are clearly on the wane, owning the passionate allegiance of no significant group of educated young men and women. And yet, barely a generation ago, democracy was a term to conjure with, a symbol powerful enough to arouse the enthusiasm and to enlist the militant support of the cultured and idealistic strata of society. It was in the name of liberalism that the talented but disinherited young men and women of the nineteenth century fought for a place in the sun; today

their descendants turn to anti-liberal fascism and communism for salvation. The reason for this decline of an erstwhile powerful and efficacious ideal will be found to reside in a certain lopsided emphasis upon the negative aspect of liberty which from the very beginning of its career vitiated the democratic ideology and finally caused it to come to grief in our own day.

It was no mere accident that liberalism, formulating its philosophy in the eighteenth century, erected the whole structure of its ideology upon the cornerstone of freedom. For the principles, the methods and the values of democracy were generated as a protest against the restrictions and defeats which inhered in the feudal order of society. In the very nature of its structure, feudalism was synonymous with restraint and frustration. For the essential characteristic of this form of social organization was its rigorous division into a legally sanctioned and immutable hierarchy of classes. These classes were defined primarily in terms of heredity; and to each of them adhered a different set of privileges, prerogatives, duties and burdens. Society was so organized under feudalism that every person was attached to a legally determined class from which it was theoretically impossible, and practically very difficult, to escape. The limits, therefore, of an individual's expansion were set by the fixed boundaries of the social class into which he was placed by the accident of birth. And just as the serf was not permitted to enjoy the responsibilities and prerogatives of the bourgeoisie, so the educated and competent members of the bourgeoisie likewise were hindered from expressing to the full their capacities for the

higher forms of statecraft, diplomacy and military leadership which by heredity fell to the noble classes. As for women and heretics, their human potentialities were in no manner whatsoever permitted to become actualized under feudalism.

GRADUALLY, however, due to certain historical developments, the basely born members of the bourgeois class became wealthy and powerful. With wealth came leisure, education and intellectual superiority. When the competent but frustrated members of the bourgeoisie revolted against the restraints of feudalism, democracy was born. It was a protest, in the name of liberty, against a social system which hindered the free expression of individual capacities. Liberalism was the declaration of the will to power on the part of a group of talented people who found their path toward self-realization obstructed by the barriers of social, religious and sexual limitations. They declared these limitations to be irrational obstacles which ought to be levelled in order for a saner social order to emerge. The founders of the new democratic order which was to supplant feudalism had in mind a society wherein talent and moral competence would prevail in the government of human affairs, but in the flush of battle they stressed merely the necessity for the breakdown of all ancient oppressions. Liberty thus came to be defined in a negative sense as freedom from restraint. Much to the detriment of clear thinking and efficacious conduct, equality was hastily identified with liberty. Liberalism from the very beginning of its career carried within itself the germs of its

present deterioration for it emphasized mainly the negative aspect of freedom as release from control, forgetful of its constructive purpose to create a new social order wherein the feudal and irrational hierarchy of hereditary classes would be supplanted by a genuine aristocracy of talents.

Despite its emphasis upon the negative aspect of liberty, the democratic practice met with some measure of success during the nineteenth century. Rejecting Adam Smith's shallow philosophy, this triumph of negative liberalism in the nineteenth century can easily be explained when it is recalled that Asia and Africa, although populated, were at the mercy of European exploitation, and that both American continents were wildernesses rich in natural resources. Under these conditions in Asia, Africa and America, the strong, the skillful, the competent were able to establish some crude form of society which permitted talents, such as they were, to express themselves freely. It was under the ægis of negative democracy that the modern world of industry and science developed and grew to its present magnificent proportions.

TODAY, however, conditions are no longer the same as a century ago. Asia and Africa are generously relieving the white man of his burden and sending him back to Europe, while America has already become a densely populated and highly exploited community. The result is that in Europe they have already discovered, and in America we are first beginning to recognize, the inadequacies of negative democracy. This showdown of negative liberalism which, on account of the concatenation of fortuitous

events, has been postponed fully a century, had to occur, for it is contrary to the nature of things that a new social order should emerge automatically out of the ruins of the old merely by the multiplication of destructive measures. That a new tyranny should actually have established itself in the place of feudalism, a plutocracy endowed with powers and privileges which the old aristocracy in many cases did not possess, was the inevitable consequence of interpreting liberty to mean freedom from restraint. This negative freedom, the product of an immature philosophy of liberalism, is wholly responsible for the defeats and frustrations which render it necessary to supersede the present régime of capitalistic anarchy.

Communism and fascism designate divergent reactions to the corruption, the incompetence and the failure of laissez-faire capitalism. Both recognize the evil, but neither sees it in the same philosophic perspective. Communist reasoning is rather clear-sighted about the restraints which have arisen to hinder the full fruition of personality. Starting with the idea of equalitarian democracy, and carrying it to its extreme logical expression, communism would overcome this latest obstacle of capitalism which like a new feudalism stultifies the life of the wage-earners. Heir to the philosophy of the eighteenth century which identified liberty with equality, communism would intransigently apply to our present society the principles of negative democracy, in its name destroying whatever oppressions based on race, color, religion or social and economic status now operate to frustrate humanity.

Because communism is the quintes-

1940

HYPODERMIC FOR LIBERALISM

PALO ALTO
PUBLIC LIBRARY
[311]
READING ROOM

sence of negative democracy it is no cure for the ills which have arisen precisely on account of the application of this negative doctrine. The rise of capitalism in practice, despite the equalitarian philosophy of freedom, sufficiently testifies to the pathetic inadequacy of any doctrine which teaches that somehow a good society must emerge as soon as the people are freed from oppression. Just as the destruction of feudalism in the eighteenth century did not render impossible the growth of new barriers to freedom, so the mere destruction of capitalism in the twentieth century will not guarantee the end of all tyranny, much less the beginning of a new era of social harmony. The history of the democratic movement teaches that the overthrow of irrational barriers is a necessary but an insufficient condition for the creation of a new and better social order. Because the communist ideology merely continues the negative tradition of democracy without supplementing it with a vigorous emphasis upon the need for a new aristocracy of intelligence and moral integrity, it is an inadequate cure for the evils which at present beset us.

AND fascism is just as unsatisfactory as communism. For if communism recognizes only the need for the removal of the capitalistic restraints, fascism sees only the importance of counteracting the anarchy which the practice of negative democracy has generated. This it would do by *force majeure*, consolidating capitalism and perpetuating the prerogatives to which it has given rise, under the form of a new feudal state. Fascism would indeed cure our present society of the ill effects of negative

democracy, but it would do so at the price of tyranny, shackling mankind once again with the fetters of irrational restraints such as prevailed under the old feudalism. But obviously, to escape from the evils of democratic anarchy by embracing the frustrations of fascist tyranny would be too much like jumping from the frying pan into the fire. If communism must be rejected because it only superficially avoids the anarchy of negative liberalism, fascism likewise must be denied assent, for it, in turn, perpetuates the defects of medieval feudalism and contemporary capitalism.

Fortunately there exists a third alternative which is free from the deficiencies inherent in fascism and communism; a doctrine which, retaining freedom as its basic premise, enables us, however, to reconcile liberty with order. This doctrine is continuous with the democratic tradition, and may be named "constructive liberalism."

Constructive liberalism recognizes the legitimacy of the claims and the importance of the accomplishments of traditional democracy in freeing humanity from artificial restrictions and unnecessary frustrations. It acquiesces in the need for utter freedom on the part of every human being to express his or her potentialities regardless of race, color, religion, sex or economic status. But it refuses to share the optimism of traditional liberalism which believes that freedom from restraint, or equality, is sufficient to organize a cohesive and well-ordered society. Constructive liberalism bases its reasoning on a study of the history of the democratic movement since its triumphant genesis in the eighteenth century up to its universal deteriora-

tion at the present day, and concludes that when freedom is considered as an end in itself it is bound to degenerate into anarchy. The destruction of restraints is a necessary but purely negative means in order to make possible the application of a constructive principle of social organization.

Constructive liberalism recognizes this need for a controlling principle to supplement the purely negative breakdown of pernicious barriers. To this extent it justifies the first part of its title. It also legitimately calls itself liberalism for, unlike fascism, it derives its principle of social organization from the very tradition of democracy itself. It merely reinterprets liberalism in a constructive sense. That liberalism may so constructively be interpreted becomes apparent when the historical conditions under which democracy emerged are called to mind. These conditions, it was already pointed out, consisted in the coming to self-consciousness of a numerous group of competent but "basely" born people who under the feudal régime were hindered from giving full expression to their talents. "Down with the feudal restrictions," shouted these disinherited experts; but implicit in their battle cry was this conclusion: "So that intellectual and moral competence may govern the nation!" In the chaos of revolution, in the ensuing rush to power, this conclusion could not make itself heard. But this constructive principle was always latent within the democratic ideology. The individualistic anarchy, the capitalistic tyranny from which we are suffering today, are the expression not of liberalism, but of an aberration of the liberal doctrine. Liberalism is an order; a social order wherein equality is

the means to render possible the end of a non-hereditary, ever-fluid natural hierarchy of talent and moral integrity.

EVERY year, in June, thousands of new recruits are added to the already numerous army of well-trained but frustrated young men and women. The members of this disinherited aristocracy of talent and integrity, deriving from every imaginable race, creed and social class, today withdraw their support from a negative democracy which has failed to offer them a legitimate outlet for their acknowledged capacities. In their dismay they turn to fascism and communism, permitting themselves to be deluded by promises which in the very nature of these doctrines can never be redeemed. In the philosophy of constructive liberalism, however, they will find a weapon molded to their proper stature; an ideology adequately voicing their legitimate claims; an instrument capable of erecting upon the negative foundation of liberty the superstructure of a commonwealth wherein talent, competence and honesty will prevail. For constructive liberalism, unlike fascism, is based upon social equality; and unlike communism, it is not satisfied merely to destroy abuses, but actually sets for itself the positive task of inaugurating the reign of a natural aristocracy of competence. When liberalism is constructively interpreted it is capable of becoming once again the vital faith of the educated; the religion and the hope of the vast army of technicians, scientists, scholars and teachers who under the present régime of negative democracy are condemned to vegetate in penury and privation.

A force of 100,000 Mexicans led
by Communists demands a glance

Fifth Column Near Our Border

By STEPHEN NAFT

A WORKERS' militia of 100,000 armed and trained men, organized, financed and led by Mexican Communists and nourished chiefly upon hatred of "Anglo-American imperialism," is in fair way to provide a back door for European totalitarian attacks upon the United States. That statement may sound fantastic, but various current developments below the Rio Grande cannot be dismissed as rumors or reports or biased speculation. Comic-opera revolutions are perhaps indigenous to Mexico, but the existence of this considerable force, and the fact that its ranks are expanding daily, has more than domestic connotations. In this year's May Day parade in Mexico City, a quarter of a million men marched, according to the *Daily Worker* of New York, behind a "huge red star, fifteen feet tall, and a high hammer and sickle, followed by a wave of red flags," the emblems of Nazi Germany's ally. No word against Nazism appeared on these

banners, but there were many denunciations of United States "intervention."

Aside from the self-evident fact of financial support from Moscow, this swelling militia of Mexican workers, Indians and *mestizos*—capable of becoming fair soldiers, though, for the most part, illiterate—has also obtained a generous amount of Nazi money; and anyone who doubts that assertion need only examine the advertising columns of *El Futuro*, the organ of the *Confederacion de Trabajo Mexicana*, the Mexican Federation of Labor.

That this army is composed, in the main, of illiterates is of particular importance and danger so far as the United States is concerned. Hostility to this country has always existed in Mexico, in all classes, and sometimes for good and sufficient reasons, but it was given point and tangible expression when President Cárdenas in 1938 confiscated the American and British oil properties, valued at some

\$40,000,000, and was eventually upheld by the Mexican courts. (Early in May the Mexican Government turned down the latest of a series of settlement proposals from the United States State Department.) So far as the Mexican peasant and worker is concerned, his understanding is that his government is doing its utmost to save the nation from further raids by American and British predatory interests.

As in Soviet Russia and in Germany today, the cry of "plutocracies" is raised, and the communist leadership in the Mexican Labor Federation is effectively howling now about the "acquisitive capitalism" of the United States and Britain and exacerbating a dissatisfied mass, although it should be understood that the Communists do not constitute the majority of the Labor Federation.

The reasons for this unrest are multiple. Mexican economy is at a low ebb. The dissatisfaction Mexican Communists are fully exploiting. There has, of course, always been a communist minority in the nation, but it was ineffective and, for the most part, inarticulate until 1935 when party members bored their way into the trade unions—in the lush days of the world-wide popular-frontism—and preempted control. The leader in that movement to seize power was Vincente Lombardo Toledano, who was stricken with an attack of Stalinist vapors in Moscow, about 1934, and thereafter saw the road to power. He was an apt pupil in Moscow and almost overnight acquired the correct communist viewpoint and the technique to put it across. He is director of *El Futuro*, his monthly mouthpiece which is about as hysterically anti-

American and anti-British as it could be. A characteristic cartoon depicts Great Britain (in the guise of an enormous spider) consuming a succession of flies labelled Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Ethiopia, China, Poland and Spain—caught in his net—a unique interpretation of the history of the past two years but effective drawing, as are caricatures of a pious Uncle Sam, gorged with gold, Daladier torturing the humble worker and the other stock-in-trade comic-strip figures used every day by the *Daily Worker* of New York.

A word more about *El Futuro* before dealing with other factors underlying Mexican discontent and the orientation of a substantial section of the masses toward communist doctrine. Its front and back columns overflow with advertisements of German-owned department stores, importers, insurance companies and travel agencies; it is a severe strain on the reader's credulity to see the vociferously proletarian *El Futuro* urging bourgeois silk stockings upon the shoeless Indians and *mestizos*. Physically speaking, the monthly is a fairly expensive proposition, and it is obvious that this German advertising pays a large part of the printing and engraving bill.

SUCH German advertising revenue dates, of course, from the Nazi-Soviet treaty of last August, the agreement that prefaced war. Since that time, incidentally, the Mexican press as a whole has been markedly tolerant of Nazi aggression. *El Futuro* makes no bones about its German sympathies. Incidentally, until the British blockade was tightened, Mexican oil, once the property of Ameri-

can and British interests, was regularly shipped to Germany.

The leadership of Hitler's allies in the trade unions makes no secret of its militia recruitment. The avowed objective of this army of 100,000—its strength has been sometimes estimated at 150,000—is to prevent any *coup d'état* by the supporters of General Almazán should the July election go against him; he represents the large landowners and is favored by the Catholic hierarchy, and he has in addition the support of the reactionary elements in the army. The country is full of reports that his supporters are armed and that their number is increasing. The trade unions' candidate is Avila Camacho, who has the blessing of President Cárdenas; he is not overly liked by the communist command in the Labor Federation, but he is a lesser evil than Avila, despite his announced friendliness to the "democracies"; but any such preference may be a matter solely of momentary political convenience.

The arguments of Communists in Mexico runs on familiar lines. Often it takes the form of an attack on the United States (in terms even less restrained than those employed by American Communists) for supplying arms "in support of the so-called democracies, Britain and France." There is the hoary charge that the United States is responsible for the war for the aforementioned reason. Soviet Russia is defended as the victim of imperialist Britain and France, with the coda that Moscow in the nick of time rescued Finland from the perfidious Allies. Orators follow the Moscow line scrupulously; like *Izvestia* and *Pravda*, not a word of criticism of Nazism or of German

military measures or of anything Berlin does or says. But it is only fair to add that outright praise of the Nazis is avoided, conceivably because it is too much for even the unlettered *mestizo* to swallow. The farthest they go in that direction is to refer to the "war of the Franco-British plutocracies against the German people."

THE dominant motif of the Mexican Communists, and that indeed of Communists elsewhere, was made plain at the Congress of the Mexican Communist party held at Mexico City early this spring. The delegates numbered two hundred, and most of the philippics were directed against the United States, its sale of arms abroad and its ostensible ties with those "democratic warmongers, Britain and France." The delegate from this country was James Ford, Negro candidate for vice-president of the party here, who professed to find something sinister in the American patrol of the three-hundred-mile neutrality zone, a fact which to his mind was manifest proof of abandonment of neutrality by Washington. The reasoning is difficult to fathom, but there it is; it is a piece, perhaps, with Tolendano's reasoning, in *El Futuro*, that Britain has devoured Albania, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Spain, China and Ethiopia. To borrow a phrase of Max Eastman's, such charges appear to spring from some cult of the unintelligible.

The influence these Soviet-Nazi patriots of the Mexican Federation of Labor exert is also suggested in an amusing and yet indicative dispatch from Mexico. They succeeded in forcing the relatively liberal Cárdenas Government to ban the Garbo movie

Ninotchka because it satirizes the U. S. S. R. The *Daily Worker* complimented the action of the Labor Federation.

President Cárdenas is by no means a Communist, although General Almazán and his supporters are prone to shout that he is a Stalin puppet. Nevertheless, he certainly knows of the organization of this Stalinist armed militia, and off the record encourages it. Here there is an interesting analogy to be drawn with the pre-1933 situation in Germany. The industrialists supported Hitler, expecting that his Storm Troops would destroy organized labor in the Reich; today those industrialists are unable to control or destroy the Frankenstein of their creation. At the risk of being obvious, it may be worth recalling that some sixteen hundred years ago in Rome the hired praetorians became the masters of their employers.

So far as concerns the Nazi contribution to this "workers' militia," there are more recent precedents of German infiltration. By the narrowest margin in 1938 the Nazis failed of obtaining control in Brazil; they were unable to assassinate President Getulio Vargas in an Integralista conspiracy which bore every resemblance in plan to the successful elimination of Chancellor Dollfuss of Austria in 1934. They enjoyed a short-lived success last year in Bolivia when Germán Busch, son of a German-born Nazi, was permitted to proclaim himself dictator and to enjoy that office for a few months, at the end of which period it was discovered unhappily that he had been gathered to his Aryan forebears by his own

hand. A sad ending, and a fictitious one, although there is no doubt that he is dead.

IT MAY BE objected that discussion of this Mexican workers' militia as a threat to the United States, or as a Communist "fifth column" on our borders, is academic in the extreme so long as this country is not in the war. That may be true, and at this time there is no reason to indulge in alarmist hand-wringing over the recruitment of an armed Communist-controlled militia of 100,000-150,000 in Mexico. But the proximity to American territory of a force of that size, financed by Communists and abetted by Nazis in that country, is something to consider, perhaps jointly with the declaration last autumn of the national committee of the American Communist party. In that statement of policy, signed by William Z. Foster, chairman of the executive committee, the deluded in this country were given to understand that sabotage is a legitimate and indeed virtuous profession if it serves to harass the "plutocratic war-mongers" or the "imperialistic, so-called democracies" (you take your choice). "Allow no single measure to be taken for purposes of giving American help," the American membership was ordered, and "find the most effective means of keeping out of the war." That may be ambiguous to the laity, but it spells sabotage in capital letters to the American faithful, and to others it may evoke memories of the Black Tom explosion, before American entry into the World War, the efforts to destroy the Welland Canal and kindred pleasantries.

The label has a virile ring, but are
any peoples younger than Adam?

Youthful Nations

By LANCELOT FORSTER

From *T'ien Hsia*, Shanghai Literary Monthly

WE ARE always being reminded by Germany that she is a youthful nation, and that Japan is one too. The characteristic of the youthful nation is apparently that he—for we must use the masculine when dealing with such virile communities—is growing up and waxing strong, and therefore needs greater space in which to exercise his powers. The drawback to the use of similes and metaphors is that we tend to consider the object used for the illustration rather than the subject itself.

Hence we fix our mind on the young man, vigorous, enterprising, yearning for the open spaces and opportunities to show his mettle. It looks rather convincing, especially if we accept it as a true description. Here is England, old and decrepit, having reached that age of slippered ease which she enjoys as a result of past exertions that have brought considerable wealth; and here is Germany, the land of youth and optimism, longing

for the chance to exhibit its prowess, but, owing to the selfishness of old and weary England, denied these things. It sounds well, but on examination it is really clotted nonsense.

In the first place a nation consists of individual persons of all ages; the old are always dying and the young being born. The nation renews itself from year to year and must do so, since the perpetuation of the species is the strongest of the human instincts, and in this respect all nations are alike. In order to reach a higher cultural level most civilized people control the birth rate. Others let nature take its course, and nature does so by exacting a high death rate. Nations which are advanced and observe the laws of hygiene have a low death rate, and on the average each individual has a better prospect of a long life. In this respect England has proportionately more old people than Japan, but they are also more intellectually alert and physically more vigorous than they are in countries where medical science

has not reached a high level or has not been diffused among the people. Such a nation, however, gives evidence not of decline but of higher intelligence.

From the point of view of physical life, then, one nation is on the whole neither younger nor older than its neighbor, but if on the average it is younger in average age it thereby proves its backwardness.

Is there any sense in which a nation can be called old or young apart from the physical? Germany would say she was young in spirit because the doctrine of Nazism has reinvigorated her national life and elicited the latent energy of her people, and that there is nothing like this youthful vigor in England or France, both of which until a few months ago she regarded as decadent and slothful, wallowing in ease and sated with power and wealth. It is true Germany has imbued her youth with a new herd spirit and given a definite aim for her youth to achieve—the mastery of Europe. She has emphasized the importance of youth, organized them into troops and given them many privileges and opportunities to develop their powers. She has laid stress on youthful qualities; good health, strong will, and emotional if not fanatical attachment to Nazi leaders and to the Fatherland. These ideals have evoked an enthusiastic response in the hearts of German boys, and this spirit of youthfulness has pervaded the whole of Germany. Does this, however, mean very much, especially if the motive is not the welfare of the individual youth, but merely the security of the state and the extension of the power of the Führer, whose devoted servants they are?

In laying emphasis on this aspect of the nation, has Germany not neglected something equally important? Has perspective not been lost? A nation cannot maintain an even keel if the ship of state is not properly balanced and steered by competent seniors. The hot enthusiasm of youth is no substitute for the cold and balanced judgment of older men. Germany suggests not so much a nation of youth as a fevered patient who has an unhealthy vigor—a vigor that is excessive while it lasts and leaves the patient exhausted when it is over.

Germany today is a youthful nation in so far as its policy is characterized by those spasmodic shifts and changes, opportunism, want of consistency, fitful attachments to other nations, exhibitionism, exuberance and no solid basis of moral or religious principles. Stability and steadiness of aim are absent, because there is ever the desire to escape from fear of punishment for wilful misbehavior. Yes, Germany is a youthful country in that sense, but it is certainly no justification for enlarging the sphere in which she might indulge more fully in such conduct.

She has as a matter of fact in this fevered state of mind, in which like a child she was unable to anticipate Britain's and France's reaction, got more *lebensraum*, but is hardly likely to be left in possession of it. Youth too often fails to appreciate the consequences of its folly.

IS THERE any other sense in which a nation might be regarded as youthful? What the phrase amounts to is the possession of a spirit of enterprise and of ambition and a willing-

ness to overcome obstacles in order to achieve it. Neither Germany nor Japan has a monopoly of this spirit. Their achievements in the realm of sport, exploration, aviation, invention, scientific inquiry, are in both countries much inferior today to the achievements of other nations.

But of course the reader is constantly thinking of China, the oldest of the nations though the youngest of the republics. China is old in what sense?—in her civilization. Is that not a virtue?

The accusation hurled against a nation of being old and effete is justified when its institutions and tradition become crystallized and therefore static. This can happen when it isolates itself as Germany is doing, becomes autarchic and suffers from narcissism. By magnifying its own achievements, falsifying history, indulging in self-glorification, it cuts itself off from the main current of the world stream. It has no other standard of comparison and ends in self-admiration, and at the same time it loses the external cultural contacts that fertilize the native mind and create new thought.

This situation may arise as a result of natural causes, as in the case of China which experienced little foreign influence until the opening of the nineteenth century but developed her own culture and attained great excellence. It was not so much that China was old, she was different. Her values were not those of the West, whose dynamic power was in violent contrast to the calm, peaceful, quiet ways of Chinese life.

The Confucian system which had become firmly established as a way of life, had molded the nation to

ways of gentleness and courtesy. The trouble was that those who were responsible for affairs of state did not see the menace from the West, or if they had, they probably could not have prepared the nation to meet it successfully in time, since they were outside the scheme of conquest by violence. Still, the preservation of the racial tradition and culture, as far as that is possible, is the first business of the rulers of a state who must adjust the national life to the changing conditions. It can only survive by doing so.

CONSERVATISM is necessary to preserve the landmarks of culture, but liberalism is also necessary to demand the modifications that are needed for the continuance of that culture or, to put it another way, the priests are there to preserve what is best and good, and the prophets to call attention to the defects and to supply from time to time new ideals in order to invigorate the nation. In China, the priests, in the secular sense of conservatives, were too many and the prophets too few.

The ruler in the person of the Empress Dowager was not fitted to be at the helm of state, because she was too wedded to the past and did not have that prescience which every good ruler should possess.

The intellectual leaders had left the cave, in the Platonic sense, and had not returned to mingle with the people. They were remote and detached and not interested in the great political and social issues on which their studies really depended. They could give no lead and obstructed those who were in a position and ready to do so. The old culture,

however, did not fail because of its inherent defects but because of its refinement and because it was not a match for the forces that Western science had let loose.

China, however, was rejuvenated in 1911 and was rapidly making the necessary adjustments. It was precisely because of the rapid strides that were being made, and because up to 1937 the country was obviously waxing in strength through the growth of the national spirit, that she provoked attack. The fertilizing influence of Western thought was producing splendid results, and in that sense there was a young China with a new spirit coursing through her veins, passionately seeking to align herself with the best of Western culture in the same spirit that she had surpassed all others in the centuries before.

If youthful nations are those which claim the title because of their willingness to engage in war in order to gain their material ends, then they have no special claim to our respect and are more likely in their youthful ardor to have their hopes blasted on the hard rocks of opposition they are bound to meet, than to achieve their aim.

If a youthful nation is one that has embraced a new faith, something higher and better than that it possesses; if there is as a result a renaissance of spirit which is creative in the realms of social life, in art, music and literature, then the youthful nation in that sense is to be welcomed. But, as we have seen, the nations that claim to be young are peculiarly deficient in this sphere. What social and material improvements they have brought about are far outweighed by

the grave losses their individual citizens have sustained.

ARE WE to accept the view that the Mongols under Ghenghis Khan were a youthful nation and that they were entitled to claim *lebensraum* at the expense of the Chinese at the beginning of the thirteenth century? They were certainly virile and active, hardy, good horsemen, utterly ruthless and bloodthirsty. Ghenghis Khan devastated the whole country and put to the sword no less than eighteen million people, it is estimated. Are we to judge the worth of the young nation by its capacity to destroy life and property, in these days as in the past? The verdict of history is against such an assumption. It is because Germany has given proofs of her creative powers in music, art, poetry and social orderliness in the past that many today have real hopes that she will abandon her youthful ways and return to the ways of civilization. It is because the achievements of China in similar fields have been of such a high order that she wins the sympathy and support of all right-thinking people, who know her continuance as an independent nation is necessary to the well-being of the world, for it is these things which give distinction to civilization. It is the activities of the youthful nations which debase civilization today. The ardor of youth is not enough in itself. It must be disciplined and directed into proper channels by adherence to high principles. But it is precisely the high religious and moral ideals from which the so-called young nations depart in order that they may pursue their course on the lower levels.

This expert on Far East advises America
to support Hull in chess game with Japan

Must We Fight Over Dutch Indies?

By UPTON CLOSE

THAT this nation would have to stop Japan some day has long been one of those axioms which Americans love to mouth and do nothing about. Most Americans thought of the Golden Gate, or at most, Alaska or Hawaii in connection with stopping Japan. The locale turns out to be the Dutch East Indies and Straits Settlements, by a logic as simple and direct as fate—the kind of logic the child-like isolationist mind overlooks.

Let the Japs have Manchuria! They are breaking treaties, of course, but why should we stop 'em? (That was in 1931.) Let Japanese airplanes devastate Chinese cities and villages from Peking to Canton to Hankow. Inhuman, of course, and hard on a few American traders and missionaries—but others of us make back *their* loss, selling scrap iron, motors, fuel and chemicals to the invaders. We could cut 'em off and stop 'em dead any time they really made us mad! (That was 1936-40.)

All the while American cotton, scrap, oil and motors were essential to Japan's system, East Indian rubber and tin were essential to ours. The British dominated and defended that area. Now and then they tried to hold us up with a rubber pool, but they would always sell, and we would always have money to buy, so why worry? We stored away silver and gold; not, as did Germany, rubber and tin. We did not, as Germany would have done, seriously plant rubber in our own hemisphere (where it started) or go in for *ersatz*.

East Indian tin, what with Bolivia's production and substitutes, we might do without. But we live, move and have our being on rubber. Think of transportation; the electric goods industry; ice-boxes, sporting goods, seat pads; drug stores' heaviest sales; one-, two- and three-way stretch girdles; the gadgets of milady's bedroom and bath.

We can not and will not (pacifists and isolationists included) permit

Japan to hold a Damocles' sword over the head of our automotive industry. That strikes too close to home, even if it does strike by way of some islands and a ridiculous-shaped peninsula on the exactly opposite side of the world. Then there is the motor industry's new rival, the only thing we've got to show for prosperity: the airplane industry. These two industries, requiring rubber, are not only absolutely essential to our way of life, but to our national defence and our international policy. That international policy requires the manufacture of machines of mechanized warfare and airplanes at top speed until the totalitarian preponderance in those weapons is ended. So long as there are non-totalitarian nations to buy them we can do this and profit at it, but we have got to do it anyhow—for ourselves if not for them.

It would take twenty-five years to get plantations going in this hemisphere (Ford and Firestone have barely started on the Amazon in that time) and five years with best luck and enormous expense to provide *ersatz* rubber—and we can't spare a minute. Our mountaineer Secretary of State thinks realistically and speaks straight. The Dutch East Indies and Malay Peninsula are a more immediate and vital problem to us than even Allied victory in Europe. Therefore our fleet is far in the Pacific.

HOLLAND is a minor factor in the picture, her condition merely supplying a pretext, which Japan could readily manufacture anyway. That Japan did not take the rubber, oil and tin country to the south of her before this war was not because

Holland owned much of it, but because the British navy patrolled it. With Britain helpless, Japan will refrain from taking it only so long as her rulers are kept convinced that Uncle Sam would make that aggression cost too much. We cannot *defend* the Dutch East Indies and Malay any more than we could defend Finland. They are indefensible. They are riddled with fifth columns and overgrazed by Trojan horses. They contain Bolshevik cells that have several times broken into open revolt during the past fifteen years. For five years they have been a happy-hunting-ground for vigorous Nazi agents and business men. Japanese communities and spies are in every oil town, rubber plantation and copra port. The Dutch have had mutinies in their own two-or-three-ship East Indies navy. They have ruled by suppressing education and the knowledge of firearms among a huge, starvation-line native population—sullenly resentful of Dutch color and caste lines. Even the nymphs of Bali shun a Hollander. The intelligent Chinese and half-caste population chuckles at the thought of turning the tables on its Dutch masters. In the British Malay States British over-rule has been indirect and is less resented, but fire in the Dutch East Indies would ignite that peninsula, only a few hours sail away, and the always mutinous Japanese population of Singapore is as nice a fifth column as a warlord could ask. To top it all, India and Burma on the other side, tinder now, run every likelihood of being set aflame by the imperialist hotheads whom Churchill himself—hated, with good reason, east of Suez—has put in the minister-ships for the Colonies and India. Such

would be the mess we would enter, the load we would take on, if we endeavored to *defend* the Indies. An American officer is well entitled to his recent remark over the radio: "Should American soldiers become protectors to areas whose people have been prevented from learning to protect themselves by their European masters?" The answer is, No.

We cannot protect the Dutch East Indies and Malay. But we can play a wonderful game of chess. When the Japanese navy starts its 2,000-mile sail from its nearest base on Formosa we can move 2,000 miles nearer Japan; in the direction of Borneo and Java economically, diplomatically, by way of aid to China, and in the last resort by gathering in all Japan's merchant ships which are her life line. Our navy can remain at safe distance from her naval bases. We can upset booming Japanese trade in South America. And if we should build a naval base in the Aleutians from which we could fire every paper-and-matchwood city in Japan we would have their queen cornered. Stop

Japan *where* we can stop her—rather than try to keep her out of, or attack her in, a remote place we probably can't even get to, and could not hold. The American people are slow at international chess—especially slow are congressmen from certain northern and western sections. Their mentality dictates that they wait until we are cornered, then fight. But if this nation cannot play chess now it is licked—in areas where we cannot fight.

JAPAN is under supreme temptation: to turn the tables against us in control of vital resources and make us eat out of her hand thereafter, to remedy her paucity by annexing one of nature's richest depositories, to play ball with Germany by controlling a resource without which not only is Britain unable to carry on mechanized war but without which we are unable to aid Britain or to prepare ourselves for a blow over John Bull's prostrate body. It is one of the most dramatic squeezes in the whole story of empire clashes. We might well cheer on that poker-faced chess player, Mr. Hull.

THE SAVING GRACE

A German girl can be married to a dead "bridegroom" under a new law on war emergency marriages. This provision is "without precedent in the law of any country." Under the new law a soldier at the front can declare to his commanding officer his intention to marry. On the strength of this declaration his bride-to-be may register the marriage in the "bridegroom's" absence within two months of his declaration. Such a declaration, it is stated, remains valid even if the soldier dies, and his "bride" can register the marriage just as if he were alive. The provision aims at the protection of expectant mothers who had no opportunity to marry before the war.

—*Japan Chronicle*, Kobe

War is the present result of technical
and social progress in the Arctic

A War Prize: Sweden's Ore

By NABOTH HEDIN

Adapted from the *American Swedish Monthly*,
Organ of the Swedish Chamber of Commerce in the United States

FOR THE first time in history the Arctic zone has become involved in war. This is primarily because in Swedish Lapland are Europe's richest and most extensive deposits of high-grade iron ore—probably surpassed in the whole world only by that of the Mesaba range in the Lake Superior district of the United States. In the World War attention was also fixed on these deposits, but then Germany had not been deprived of other, nearer ones, as she was by the Treaty of Versailles, and therefore access to Swedish ore sources was less important to her. At that time Great Britain contented herself with buying up a certain part of the Swedish output and storing it on the spot, after the war selling it in the international market.

In recent years the German purchases have increased, and since the Swedish Government—which is half owner of the mines—had fixed a limit

of 9,000,000 tons per year for exports, extra output of 6,000,000 tons until October 1, 1940 was authorized early in 1938 to permit Great Britain also to satisfy some of her wants which had been blocked by the civil war in Spain. Shipment of an additional 6,000,000 tons from the mines in central Sweden was legalized at the same time. For several years Germany has bought, on the average, about three-fourths of the Swedish ore exports, the rest going to Great Britain, Belgium and some even to the United States. During the past winter, however, Norwegian shipping statistics show that Great Britain has obtained more Swedish ore through Narvik than has Germany.

The importance of Narvik to both the British and Germans is, of course, that it is the nearest to Kiruna, center of the Lapland ore field, while the Swedish port of Bothnia is frozen about six and a half months every

year. (The latter fact is of less immediate importance as the summer advances.) Kiruna is about 100 miles from Narvik and 190 from Lulea. Technically, too, Lapland iron ore could be carried overland by rail through Sweden to the ports in the south nearest Germany, but from an economic point of view that would hardly be worth while. The freight rates would be so high that it might be cheaper for Germany to use her own lower grade ores. The Lapland ore is not indispensable but, being so rich in iron content, it is more economical.

While Sweden has many iron deposits and in the eighteenth century was the world's principal single source of supply, the ore which has been a bone of contention in the European war comes almost wholly from the northern part of the country. The ore from the central mines is mainly refined in the country and later sold in the form of iron and steel. The mining industry in the north is, moreover, of comparatively recent date, being chiefly a fruit of scientific and engineering progress in the twentieth century. Usually mines are thought of as underground holes, but in Lapland the ore is found in fairly high ridges or mountains where it can be blasted out in the open. Both vertical and horizontal shafts have been sunk into some of the deposits, so that the men work under cover, while in other mines work is still done in the open. In one mine which I visited the temperature was close to the freezing point in August when outside it was quite warm. But, conversely, I was told that the temperature inside does not get very low even in the coldest weather.

The presence of iron in Lapland has been known for several centuries, but the main problem was that of transportation. Originally some ore was hauled to iron works closer to the coast, on reindeer sleds, but the net output could not be anything but meager. In 1800, for instance, it was something between 300 and 500 tons, a quantity now hauled in a few hours by less than a dozen railway cars. Certain English companies tried to build canals along the Lule River for steamboat and barge transportation, but the river was too far from the ore deposits for this to be financially profitable. By 1884 it was seen that the mines could be profitable only with rail transportation, and the English concerns—which then owned the principal deposits—undertook to build one from Lulea northwestward toward Gallivare and Kiruna. Four years later the first ore train run by steam was sent through to Lulea, but even so the business was not profitable. When the company went into bankruptcy in 1891, the Swedish Government took over completion of the railroad, first to Kiruna and then to the Norwegian border whence, in turn, the Norwegian Government finished the last section to Narvik, which was thus transformed from a fishing hamlet to a veritable iron city. The cost of this road—with snow avalanches, freshets and extreme cold weather to be overcome—was tremendous. The final bill for the last Swedish section of 144 miles came to about \$7,500,000; with present-day costs it would have been trebled.

THE NEXT question was power. Sweden has practically no coal and imports are expensive, especially

in such northerly latitudes. In southern and central Sweden there are plenty of forests for charcoal and firewood, but the far north is practically treeless. Not only did the railroad need fuel, but the mining operations needed power and the miners had to be housed. Also, in the Arctic there is much need for artificial light. The answer came with the development of electrical power at the beginning of the present century. Lapland has plenty of waterfalls, and the one chosen for development was that at Porjur, not far from Gällivare. By 1915 the entire railroad line from Lulea to Narvik had been electrified.

But even with transportation and energy provided, the Lapland deposits could not have been developed had it not been for the invention of the Thomas process for using ores with a high content of phosphorus, which had previously been a handicap to the Lapland ore. This process was

discovered in 1875 by a London police-court clerk, Sidney Gilchrist Thomas, who had studied chemistry at night as a hobby. It suddenly created a foreign market for Swedish ores which could not be advantageously smelted at home for lack of coal, while an important by-product of it is the so-called Thomas phosphate, a commercial fertilizer which has meant much to German agriculture as well as to the Swedish. As the mines in Lapland have been developed it has been found that the ore exists with varying degrees of phosphoric content, so customers can be suited in England as well as Germany and with practically any degree of phosphoric content desired.

WHEN the late Hjalmar Lundbohm, known as "Lapland's Uncrowned King," arrived at Kiruna in 1890, as a state geologist, the only sign of human habitation was a Lapp hut on the eastern slope of the mountain. Today Kiruna is a modern city of 15,000 people, with schools, churches and other public buildings, a radio station, hotels, theaters, restaurants, trolley cars and electrically lighted streets and houses. Thanks chiefly to Lundbohm's foresight and management as director of the mining operations, Kiruna is about as far removed from the traditional American mining town as can be imagined. The monument at his grave tells the story: "To the memory of Hjalmar Lundbohm, a man of civic virtue. Friend of man, lover of beauty, born 1855, died 1926. For the benefit of the nation he laid bare the mountain treasure and created the city."



—Marianne, Paris

A U. S. Senate member cites Jefferson
and Lincoln on a colored resettlement

An African Home for Our Negroes

By SENATOR THEODORE G. BILBO

(The following article is not an expression of opinion by the Editors. It is a presentation of one point of view, and we invite other articles relevant to this problem.)

EVER since the first public intimation of the introduction in the United States Congress of the proposal for voluntary resettlement of American Negroes in Africa, I have been bombarded with inquiries on the subject. One of the leading questions asked me is, "What do the Negroes themselves think about it?"

Naturally enough, the Negroes are divided on the subject of repatriation. There is a right wing, and there is a left wing.

The response noted from the right wing has been very salutary indeed. On the day that I introduced Senate Bill 2231—April 24, 1939—I had in my possession petitions signed by approximately 2,500,000 Negroes pleading with the Government to provide for their resettlement in the land of

their ancestors. At least 2,000,000 of these petitioners were Negroes who belong to the school of thought represented by the Ethiopian League, headed by M. M. L. Gordon of Chicago, a Negro woman of prodigious foresight and rugged enthusiasm for the welfare and integrity of her race. This League is dedicated to the purpose of promoting the ideals of Negro blood integrity, economic independence and repatriation of the Negro to his fatherland. Under the guidance of President Gordon, these Negroes have been giving serious thought to the race problem for a number of years.

In 1933, when the first relief bill was pending in Congress, the Ethiopian League—known as the Peace Movement of Ethiopia—petitioned President Roosevelt not to give them alms but to give them an opportunity to rehabilitate themselves on their native heath. This petition has been acclaimed by many as the most extraordinary racial document in the history

of the nation. Did space permit I should here reproduce this petition in full, but the following excerpts will suffice to reflect the spirit of these Negroes:

"Whereas the distress of the unemployed is most severely felt by such of the uneducated American Negroes who abhor alms, both public and private, in any guise; and whereas the removal of a half million of the poorest from a competitive labor market, at this time, would tend to relieve to that extent the condition and improve the opportunities of the remainder, we, the subjoined signatories, American citizens of African extraction, individually and collectively, join in respectfully petitioning the President to consider our proposal, confident that his conclusions will be for the best interests of our families and of the community at large.

"We are of the so-called North, most of us having been driven from a cruel and avowedly intolerant South to the cities and towns of the Middle West, without a just opportunity to earn a livelihood in our abject new state.

"We are simple-minded, sincere, law-abiding workers who have maintained traditions of simple honesty, industry and frugality, as much from choice as from necessity. Few of us have education, but we have learned not to heed the blandishments of self-seeking politicians, imposters, and the unworthy and the undesirable products of a hectic civilization that is foreign to our nature. . . .

"Hungry, cold and miserable, the pursuit of life, liberty, and happiness in America appears futile. Given an opportunity in our own ancestral Africa, the knowledge of farming and

simple farm machinery and implements which we have acquired here would enable us to carve a frugal but decent livelihood out of the virgin soil and favorable climate of Liberia, or such other well-disposed country where the Federal Government, in its wisdom, might acquire a footing for us.

"We respectfully ask that the President graciously have this matter investigated now, with a view to fulfilling the expressed desires of Abraham Lincoln in this respect. We are a liability now, and any cost of this project, no matter how great, would still, we sincerely believe, be a sound investment for the American people."

Signatures to this and similar petitions have constantly increased in the interim to bring the total number at present to about 3,000,000.

THE Universal Negro Improvement Association is another Negro organization which proclaims the ideals of Negro blood integrity and which has for its objective a repatriation movement. Almost daily I receive petitions signed by hundreds of Negroes in this group.

Negroes from every state in the Union have said by means of petition, by letter and by word of mouth that they want to return to the land of their fathers. In a letter addressed to me by President Gordon of the Ethiopian League, this Negro leader said:

"We are Negroes who represent the industrial masses, farmers, and men of skill, and in the land of our forefathers we will not only make a living for ourselves but will be free from race prejudice and discrimination. We highly approve your opposition to the mixture of the two races;

for we, likewise, detest the same thing."

This is what the Negroes in the right wing are saying. This is what they are thinking. These are the Negroes who realize that the most understanding friend they ever had, Abraham Lincoln, was one of the most fervent advocates of repatriation. They know he was on the right track when he embodied in the Emancipation Proclamation a clause proclaiming that efforts to colonize Negroes would be pursued. These Negroes know that over and over again he spoke against miscegenation or intermarriage of the white and black races. They know that if the assassin's bullet had not so soon removed Lincoln from the scene of action, the descendants of the Negro slaves would now be enjoying liberty and economic blessings in a country of their own.

Lincoln's utterances on the subject were unmistakably clear. "There is a physical difference between the white and the black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. Let us be brought to believe that it is morally right and at the same time favorable to our interest to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great the task may be."

It is of considerable moment that two outstanding Negroes in recent addresses before a large assembly of their race in New York both supported the repatriation of Negroes. I refer to Magistrate Myles A. Paige, newly appointed Judge of Special Sessions in New York City, and Elmer A. Carter, Negro member of the State Unemployment Insurance

Appeal Board. Magistrate Paige, addressing the Negro men's group of the YMCA, pointed out to his people that the Negro is outstripped in the competition for available jobs, too often contented to let the successful competitor pay for his support. He was quoted in the press as saying that unless the Negro can win his way through, becoming a part of the working body of the country, "we're going to get our passage back." By "passage back" he meant back to Africa.

Elmer Carter, the Negro member of the New York Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board, spoke along somewhat the same lines. He emphasized that there are indications that the country will have to support 13,000,000 or more permanently unemployed persons in the future. He stressed that although Negroes are the largest racial group on relief they are returning to private industry more slowly than any other group. He is quoted as having declared that in his opinion the Negro in the United



—Time and Tide, London

States is yet to face his greatest crisis. Discussing repatriation, Carter said that he does not see anything absurd in the possibility of transplanting the Negro to Africa in the future. He based his judgment on the fact, he said, that Germany had demonstrated the possibility of transplanting a great mass of people thousands of miles. He might have also mentioned the fact that our own Government has been spending large sums of money in colonizing Dust-Bowl victims, by tens of thousands, in Alaska.

These two well-informed Negro men see eye to eye in their views of the unemployment problem and the relief situation.

It is safe to say that as high as 75 per cent of those on relief rolls in many states are Negroes. The District of Columbia is a typical example. Last year's records show that approximately 8,000 out of the 10,000 relief enrollees in the District of Columbia were Negroes. This notwithstanding the fact that the population of the District is 400,000 whites and 200,000 colored. In other words, 8,000 of the 200,000 colored are on the relief rolls compared with only 2,000 of the 400,000 whites.

For the fiscal year which ended June 30, 1939, the Government's expenditure for relief amounted to \$2,617,974,000. One-half of that one year's expenditure could be spent in providing for the resettlement of the Negro in his fatherland, and the Government would save money on the transaction. If we could effect the resettlement of from five to eight million Negroes who are now ready to go to Africa, we could solve the unemployment problem and would be able soon to do away with the necessity of

these large annual appropriations for relief.

SOME time ago two commissioners were sent to Liberia by the Ethiopian League, to confer with the President of Liberia and to ascertain whether he would be willing to admit the American Negroes into Liberia in the event Congress should pass an enabling act. These investigators returned with the assurance that the President of Liberia is ready to receive American Negroes. Formal announcement has been made by President Barclay that millions of acres of land in Liberia are now ready and waiting to be settled by American Negroes.

An educated Negro went from my home state of Mississippi to Liberia in 1902, soon after his graduation from Jackson College in the capital city of Mississippi. He later concluded that he could render more valuable service to his people if he had a knowledge of medicine. He returned to this country and studied medicine at Meharry Medical College. Now back in Liberia, he combines preaching, teaching, medicine and dentistry.

A titan, a man among men in Liberia, is this Dr. Jones! He insists on teaching Africans to think black and to this end was instrumental in barring from the schools all textbooks for the lower grades which contain the faces of white persons. Published reports reveal the happy estate of many American Negroes in Liberia. These reports serve to convince one that every American Negro should covet the privilege of returning to the continent of his forefathers to establish a home on the fertile lands of Africa, where he could live under a

government of and by and for his own people.

Dr. Jones says that the temperature in Liberia ranges between 64 and 98 degrees and that he plants sweet potatoes twelve times a year—once each month.

LIBERIA lies on the southwest coast of Africa between British Sierra Leone on the west and the French colony of the Ivory Coast on the east, with a coast line on the South Atlantic of about 350 miles. It extends inland seventy-five to 150 miles. Most of the country is densely forested, rich in timber and in oil nuts. Plantings of about ten million rubber trees, representing an investment of about \$90,000,000, are financed by the Firestone Tire Company.

The population of Liberia is entirely of the African race. The constitution provides that no white man can own land or vote in the Republic. The number of American Negroes colonized there is estimated at 20,000.

Liberia was founded in 1822 as the result of a movement by the American Colonization Society organized in Washington, D. C., in 1817. At the time this society was organized there were about 200,000 free colored people scattered throughout the Union. They enjoyed then, as now, few of the advantages of freedom. It was thought by the American Colonization Society that if a colony for the freed Negroes of the United States could be established in the land of their origin, they might, in time, with proper care and patronage by the Federal Government, become a self-supporting community and thus prepare a way of life and a home for the eventual colonization of the remain-

ing millions of slaves who were destined to be given their freedom from slavery. The sole purpose of the organization was to promote the cause of Negro repatriation. Land would have to be acquired for a colony, and ways and means for its settlement would need to be formed. The organizers realized that the task would be too great for a group of private citizens to undertake, so the society sought and obtained the aid of the American Government in its program. The Society purchased practically all the territory that now forms the Republic of Liberia, and the first group of Negroes were transported to that country in 1822. The American Government co-operated with the colonization society and from time to time landed its recaptured slaves from vessels engaged in slave traffic in the territory of Liberia.

Within a quarter of a century the Liberian colony had so succeeded and progressed that it was able to stand on its own feet and declare itself a republic. The declaration of Liberian independence is dated as of July 26, 1847. It is a document so fraught with human appeal, so clearly indicative of sincerity of purpose that the reading of it suffices to convince the skeptical that the West Coast of Africa is the proper place of haven for the members of the black race now in this country.

Notwithstanding the severance of ties between the settlements of the Republic of Liberia and the American Colonization Society, the parent organization continued to keep in touch with the republic and to co-operate in directing its destinies. The society was unable to take care of all who desired to migrate to their ancestral

Africa, because the volunteers were in greater numbers than the Society could accommodate. Vicious attacks were made on the Society from certain quarters, just as my proposal has been viciously impugned by some. Despite these attacks, the American Colonization Society continued to make progress until Negroes to the total number of 12,000 had been resettled in Liberia. Among the men who were members of this organization were Francis Scott Key, John Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Charles Fenton Mercer, John Marshall, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, James Monroe and many others. It will be remembered that Monrovia, capital of Liberia, was named for President Monroe, who was an active member of the American Colonization Society when Liberia was founded. That society still exists, with headquarters in Washington. Colonel West, who now heads the organization, has made frequent trips to Liberia and is among the staunch-

est of modern advocates of Negro repatriation.

THE first recorded effort to bring about colonization of American Negroes in Africa was by a committee in the General Assembly of Virginia in the year 1777. Thomas Jefferson was chairman of that committee. It reported favorably on a resolution for the emancipation and subsequent colonization of Virginia slaves. It contemplated the acquisition of territory, a gradual enforcement of the plan, not only to establish Negroes in a territory of their own but to support them until they could sustain themselves. This was Jefferson's plan in 1777, the year following the penning of the Declaration of Independence.

Jefferson spoke and wrote more fluently and more profoundly on the Negro question than did any other man of his time. On numerous occasions he entreated his countrymen, with prophetic vision, to seek by emancipation and repatriation to evade national economic disintegration and racial decline which, it now appears, may overtake us. But in spite of his frequent utterances warning the nation against the evils that would ensue where two widely different races, equally free, were compelled to live side by side, the opposition of his day appealed to the author of the Declaration of Independence in support of the theory that the Negro should be recognized in this country upon terms of absolute equality with the white man.

The written works of Jefferson are replete with evidence that he did not include the Negro when he said, "All men are created free and equal." His expressed views on the subject, from



—L'Ordre, Paris

the date he penned the classic Declaration of Independence up to the time of his death, all serve to countermand the suggestion that Jefferson had thought of the Negro enjoying equality with the white man. The following single extract will refute the claims of those who clamor for equality between the two races:

"Deep-rooted prejudices entertained by the whites, ten thousand recollections by the blacks of the injuries they have sustained, new provocations, the real distinctions which Nature has made, and many other circumstances will divide us into parties and produce convulsions which will probably never end but in the extermination of one or the other race. Nothing is more certainly written in the Book of Fate than that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, and opinion have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. Provide an asylum to which we can, by degrees, send the whole of that population from among us and establish them under our patronage and protection as a separate, free and independent people in some country and clime friendly to human life and happiness. I leave this to those who will live to see their accomplishment, but I leave it with this admonition—to rise and be doing."

THE impression prevails in the minds of some people that my proposal for the repatriation of the Negro is a product of so-called "Southern prejudice." The fact is that my record of more than twenty years in public office, including eight years as governor of Mississippi, will confirm the statement that I have always

dealt fairly and sympathetically with the Negro.

We have today about 12,500,000 Negroes in the United States; more than 8,000,000 of these live in the South. It has been the southern man who has had to deal with and attempt to solve this race problem. The low status of this part of our population is one of the South's greatest burdens and has been the cause of the South's backwardness in industrial development. It has been the source of much of our crime, our poverty, our disease and our being labelled throughout the nation as its Economic Problem Number One.

Before the Civil War, the white laboring man of the South had to compete with slave labor, and the poor white man of the South had little chance. After the Negro was freed he was more or less dependent. He was unaccustomed to his physical freedom; he was like a ship without a rudder. He was willing to work for almost any wage. This placed the white laboring man of the South in competition with the Negro freed labor of the South.

But with the wage-and-hour law now on the statute books, with the resultant increase of wage scales in many industries, the white man can now afford to accept many of the jobs which the Negro has been filling and at least partially maintain his standard of living. This changing condition forebodes that millions of Negroes are likely to lose their jobs to white men.

Negroes all over the country know what it means to be outstripped by the white men in competition for jobs. There is more of a certain kind of equality enjoyed by the Negro in the

North, but he finds that there is less mutual understanding. Most of the trade unions in the North, as in the South, devise methods to exclude the Negro. Railroad brotherhoods deny him membership. The congenital feeling of inferiority of the colored man, the lack of native ingenuity together with the unbridgable difference between the two races that will continue to exist so long as they exist as distinct races, all arise to thwart the Negro wherever he goes in America.

Three hundred years of contact with the white has bestowed on the Negro race a degree of superimposed learning and artisanship which can prove a blessing in carving a future for the individual in his fatherland. This being true, the American Negro has gained something by way of compensation from his sojourn in a white man's land. Repatriated in an environment intended by the Creator to be the home of the black man, the American Negro would have an opportunity, as Thomas Jefferson so aptly expressed it, "to carry back to the country of his origin the seeds of civilization, which might render his sojournment and suffering here a blessing in the end."

Educational facilities here for Negro children are not as good as we might wish to see. There is a growing discontent among the Negroes because schools for the colored are not the equal of the white schools, in the South. The Negro complains that his schools are the poorest in the country; that housing accommodations for colored pupils are neglected; that colored teachers are poorly trained.

I am one of a large number of sympathetic southerners who sincerely wish we could do better educationally

by our young Negroes. But there are so many of them! By nature a prolific race, the Negro in the balmy Southland "perpetuates" at so rapid a rate that our public-school systems are constantly faced with new problems in providing schooling for the rising generation of colored pupils. Notwithstanding the high mortality of the Negro race—60 per cent higher than that of the white race—the net gain in Negro population over a period of ten years is about 13.6 per cent, based on the period of 1920-30.

In my State we have 100,000 more colored children of school age than of white school children. It seems ironic that we have only 6,000 colored teachers as compared with 10,000 white teachers. The ratio appears inversely proportioned, and it is. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that the bulk of the tax burden falls on white shoulders. A relatively small percentage indeed is paid by the Negro population. All things considered, we have done as well as we could reasonably afford to provide education for colored children and hospitals for the Negro and his family.

ALL the education in the world, however, cannot erase the physical and mental differences that divide the two races. The "color line," while serving as a deterrent to intermarriage, in regions where it is enforced, cannot prevent illegal miscegenation. The facts speak for themselves. The most authentic records reveal, and one has but to look around among the colored population to see, that about one-third of the negroid citizens of our country are Negroes with white admixtures — mulattoes, quadroons

and octoroons. Nineteen states in the Union and also the District of Columbia even give legal sanction to intermarriage between the blacks and the whites.

It has been stated by good authorities that there are today about 20,000 Negro boys and Negro girls annually crossing the color line. That is to say, a Negro boy is a mulatto and looks white, so he goes where he is not known and marries a white girl. The mulatto, or white-colored girl, goes where she is not known and marries a white man. Who then, in the face of this, can say that we are not gradually heading for eventual amalgamation unless steps are taken for the physical separation of the two races?

AN example of a proud civilization that crumbled and decayed as a result of becoming a mongrel race is ancient Egypt. In the beginning the Egyptians belonged to the Caucasian race. Contact with the Negro through invasion of Negro territory and the introduction of Nubian slaves and soldiers in Egypt created the Egyptian hybrid. Stagnation overtook this once great empire and its civilization perished, reaching a climax finally in the accession of the mulatto pharaoh, Te-harka, to the throne in 688 B.C.

I agree with the ethnologist, Madison Grant, that "if the purity of the two races is to be maintained they cannot continue to live side by side, and this is a problem from which there can be no escape."

One reason some of my colleagues and other public men are afraid of the proposal for resettlement of American Negroes in Africa is that they regard it as fantastic; too visionary, too big a job. But it occurs to me that

when millions of American Negroes are begging Congress to give them an opportunity to avail themselves of the land which is now waiting for them, held in trust by the Republic of Liberia, it is better sense, better judgment and better business for the Government to pay for their transportation and upkeep until they are well on their way to being established in their new home. It would certainly be cheaper and better to care for them in that way than to let them stay in the United States and keep them indefinitely on the relief rolls.

If for no other reason than the preservation of blood integrity of the two races, repatriation of the Negro seems to me to be the only feasible solution of the race problem. I cannot think otherwise when I consider the established facts covering a period of twenty thousand years, showing that whenever and wherever the white race and the black race have tried to live side by side, the blood integrity of both races has been destroyed and a mongrel race has inevitably followed.

There is nothing fantastic in the plan of repatriation of Negroes; and in putting it into effect we would simply be carrying forward the program of Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln and many other thoughtful statesmen of bygone days. We would simply be carrying to fruition the plan that the Great Emancipator pledged himself to carry out, the thing that he would have done had he lived to do it: "Let us be brought to believe that it is morally right and at the same time favorable to our interest to transfer the African to his native clime, and we shall find a way to do it, however great may be the task."

The Balkans may be intimidated by the
Nazis but they aren't deluded by Moscow

The Soviet Union and the Balkans

By ALBERT MOUSSET

Translated from *Le Temps*, Paris Semi-Official Daily

SINCE the end of the Finnish War the question has arisen as to whether the U.S.S.R. will not next turn southeast. The press is filled with masses of news concerning Rumania. It is the usual tactic of our opponents—to mask their true intentions behind a smoke screen of irresponsible information. Rumors again appear about a Rumanian-Russian non-aggression pact, of a German-Russian entente about the Balkans, etc. Briefly, the situation which led to the mutilation of Finland is being repeated in the southeast, with the difference, however, that there a third great power is interested—Italy, whose views are opposed to those of Germany in the economic field and to those of Russia in the political domain.

So we must be reserved in accepting the rumors which are circulating at present. Supposing there is some truth in them, on what psychological grounds would the Russians proceed in risking this new adventure? One

cannot answer this without going over twenty years of Soviet-Balkan relations, reminiscences which may be very profitable. London and Paris have postponed the publication of the diplomatic documents concerning the French-English-Russian negotiations. However, instructive as those documents might prove, the true face of the U.S.S.R. will probably only appear when we have access to the files of reports of the agents of the Balkan countries. The Soviet rulers have always been more frank with representatives of small nations, particularly the Balkans, than with those of the great powers. I recall strange confidences which Chicherin made in Genoa to a high Yugoslav. And in December 1938 Sofia received information which foreshadowed a fifth partition of Poland. The only telegram of Balkan origin which is published in our *Yellow Book* presages, even that early, a German-Soviet rapprochement.

It is in the Balkan capitals that the

evolution of Russia between two wars has been followed most objectively. Outside of Turkey, whose Russian policy was imposed by its Asiatic interests, the relations of the southeastern European states were adjusted to those of the great powers but were colored by their own skepticism. After the Declaration of London of July 1933 and the Franco-Soviet and Czech-Soviet pacts of 1935 the Moscow Government, having established the impression that it had renounced its Eurasian policy (to rally to its camp defenders of the European *status quo*), was recognized by all the Balkan states except Yugoslavia. Rumania saw in the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Russia the elimination of a threat on its eastern frontier, while the other states took it as an occasion to verify the sincerity of the promises of non-interference which the Soviets held out to them at that time. The results of the test were negative. Bulgaria was requested by Moscow to receive several dozen commercial missions, a number so far out of proportion to the volume of commercial exchanges as to arouse suspicion. Greece found the hand of Russian agents in the strikes in Macedonia, in the bitterness of party feuds and in the crisis which led to the *coup d'état* of August 8, 1936. Finally, the Spanish Civil War convinced the Balkans that Russia was returning, by inches, to the militant Marxism of the "communist central" of Vienna which in its day directed terrorist activities in southeastern Europe.

This was the atmosphere of Soviet-Balkan relations when the war broke out: There is no doubt that there had long been a trend toward collab-

oration with the "Colossus of the East." In part this was a survival of the Slavophile romanticism which in the past turned so many heads in Serbia and Bulgaria. Davidovich, the Yugoslav democratic leader who died recently, included in the program of his ephemeral government of July 1924 the establishment of diplomatic relations "with Slavic Russia." And his colleague, Yovanovich, leader of the Agrarian party, in 1935 enthusiastically hailed the Russian victory "which in his eyes the entrance of the Canton troops represented in Nanking." It is exactly this permeability, this sentimental receptivity of the Slavic people which pushed the governing classes (particularly the regal dynasties) to raise obstacles to any rapprochement.

In these same countries neither the peoples nor the governments held a particularly favorable estimate of the military power of the U.S.S.R. Their own hard experience in the first World War, combined with their natural peasant realism, has made them suspicious of a too "photogenic" army. And nowhere more than in the Balkans is there awareness of the dangers of an army engaged in politics.

The German-Russian rapprochement aroused no surprise in southeastern Europe, for there they have been in close touch with the gyrations of Soviet diplomacy. They have always believed that European war was Russia's ace card and that, in order to force the hand of destiny, she would take the side of any aggressor if the conflict was not otherwise inevitable. There are many in the Balkans, as elsewhere, who believe that with her share in the dismemberment of Poland and with the

invasion of Finland, the U.S.S.R. returned to the role of Tsarist Russia and turned its back on classic Marxism. Karl Radek once wrote that the re-establishment of Poland's independence was "one of the very few positive facts which the great war has produced in Central Europe." The Balkan people have no illusion that Soviet Russia is substituting any genuine "national" policy for her accustomed subversive activities, and in either case the Balkans are in the firing zone, particularly now with the

Russians installed in the Carpathians. It is impossible to foretell the course of war before a just order is established in Europe. But it is certain that the Balkan governments are more than ever opposed to communism, whether it wears the mask of "Slav solidarity" in Yugoslavia and Bulgaria or whether it exploits the social difficulties of the industrial regions of Greece and Rumania. Those governments are more distrustful of the Russian mirage than are those of Western Europe.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE REICH

The last (1939) issue of the *Yearbook* of the German Empire (*Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich*) gives figures revealing a considerable increase of juvenile delinquency in Germany. The *Yearbook* contains, perhaps by oversight, comparisons of 1934 (the first year after the destruction of the Weimar Republic) with the year 1937 when Nazism ruled Germany.

"In 1934 there was not one murder reported as having been committed by children between fourteen and eighteen. In 1937 there were seventeen.

"Convictions rendered by the special tribunal for crimes and offenses committed by persons under eighteen years, amounted in 1937 to 3,374 as against 1,058 in 1934, which is an increase of 125 per cent. The specific break-up is as follows: rape increase, 59 per cent; incest, 50 per cent; seduction of minors less than fourteen years old, 81 per cent; homosexuality, 358 per cent; homicide, 129 per cent; assault and battery causing death, 66 per cent; wounds inflicted with knives, 45 per cent; deliberate arson, 86 per cent; arson by carelessness, 118 per cent; vandalism, 43.5 per cent; extortion by threats of violence, 37 per cent; larceny, 22 per cent. Abortions of young girls under eighteen increased 258 per cent; prostitution of minors, 150 per cent."

—From *Concourse Medical*, Paris medical review

British 'evacuees' straggle back to
their city homes for different reasons

Hamelin's Children

By JANET LEEPER

From *Contemporary Review*, London Topical Monthly

WHEN the history of this strangest of wars comes to be written, a chapter will have to be devoted to the subject of evacuation. Prosperous cities have before now gone down under the impact of war, or have suffered convulsions of nature, but it has been left to the citizens of the twentieth century to witness the mass depopulation of their towns, hundreds of miles from the battle front. Those of us who saw it in England in 1939 will never forget it, for it was a sight to make the angels weep: mankind fleeing from the shadow of his own making, his new-found mastery of the air and his enormously increased power of hurting his fellow-men. As war became imminent, the cities seemed to be in the grip of a centrifugal force pushing the people out into the rural districts. Little children bravely marched off to unknown destinations far from their mothers' care; aged, blind or sick persons were taken by coach or ambulance to hastily coman-

deered country mansions; hospitals, asylums and prisons were closed at a few hours' notice, to stand sand-bagged and empty for official uses; Government departments and institutions occupied hotels in "safe" areas, while whole schools were politely invited into the country seats of the landed aristocracy. The lead given by the Government was followed by the public, and soon nearly everyone was sheltering strangers or living precariously in someone else's house, waiting for what might happen. And then came the long anti-climax of five months without air raids.

Nowhere were the effects of this grand exodus, which cut across every section of the community, so deeply felt as in London, so that in the first week of September it looked as though the Black Death had swept through the city. Every second house stood empty, shop assistants idly gossiped in shops without customers, and not a child stirred in the forsaken courtyards of the slums. A visit to a

turbulent street usually teeming with young life in one of the poorer quarters was like going to a stricken area: silence everywhere, no play, no games, no laughter. It was Hamelin town after the Piper had passed. It is the effect of the evacuation on the working-classes with which the writer proposes to deal in detail.

MUCH has been written about the "success" or "failure" of the evacuation of working-class mothers and children. To begin with, there are two sides to the question, that of the parents and that of the children. There is further the undoubted fact that if there had been persistent air raids, many of the failures might have turned out successes, and some of those who have come back disgruntled to the towns might have been thankful to stay where they were. When we learn that by February, 59 per cent of the mothers and children who were evacuated in September had returned home, and that the question of compulsorily evacuating all children under five with their mothers is now under discussion by three Scottish cities, it is time to take stock of the situation and inquire why the first lot of mothers came back, whether they were justified in doing so, and how the evacuation is affecting the children both in the country and in the towns.

In a block of modern flats for rehoused slum tenants, more than 61 per cent of the normal population had gone away in that first week of the war, and of the children, 94 per cent had been evacuated. The sad-eyed mothers, trusting implicitly in the school authorities, had let their little ones go, they knew not whither,

choosing the lesser of two evils. In the crisis of September 1938, a similar situation had been faced. In that week, on the living-room table of one flat had lain five labels for the children, five bags of biscuits, five gas-masks, while hastily mended shoes were put ready for the children to wear when the call should come. The call did not come then, but the parents were ready for the evacuation when it came a year later. These particular children are still away, they are much improved physically and are not fretting, though they are in different billets, and the mother goes out to work to swell the family budget and earn the extra money to keep the children in clothes. For evacuation has been a source of great expense to working-class families. Warm underclothes, mackintoshes and rubber boots are essential needs for children in the country, who may have got along quite happily without them in the city. Then there is the expense of constant repairs to shoes, knocked about on country roads. Added to this is the inevitable higher standard of even poor country cottages compared to the slums. The absence of night clothes, or at best the possession of one night shirt, is not understood by the kind hosts, who tell the children to write home and ask for a second to be sent as soon as possible, not dreaming that such nice children should only have one of anything. And just as better-off mothers have tried to fit out their children properly for their boarding-schools, so have the working-class mothers tried to keep up a standard which will pass muster with strangers and is really hopelessly out of reach of their purses. The payments for the cost of

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HAMELIN'S CHILDREN

keeping the children have been willingly paid, and the interval between the date at which the children left and the date at which the parents began to pay was a godsend, for it enabled the parents to fit out the children with some of these much-needed extras, and in many cases to get down to see them in their new surroundings.

IN THOSE first weeks of war, hardly anyone paid any rent and many families disappeared completely into the blue. The desire to keep the home together, however, soon reasserted itself, and after a while even those who went away "for the duration" paid up all the arrears by post, while little by little the others have been coming back. There are often excellent reasons for this much-criticized return, and it may be said that in almost every case where the school-children have settled down, the parents strain every nerve to keep them in the country. But with the younger children it is a different story. They call for so much loving care that only the mother can give, and if she goes with them, what is to be done for the poor husband, the breadwinner, who returns after a hard day's work to a cold-hearth, no comfort and no supper? The plight of the men left behind is pitiable. Few of them are able to cook, wash, mend and fend for themselves in addition to working all day. Some unfortunates, turning away from their dirty neglected homes in an ache of loneliness, have found solace in the public-house, and soon the wife comes hurrying back with the young children to save the situation—and the home—before it is too late.

The economic factor also plays an important part. If the breadwinner

falls out of work, there is not enough money to keep two establishments going, even if the wife is in billets provided by the Government. She it is who knows how to buy and cook nourishing food which will feed a family of six at very little cost, and she guesses only too well what inadequate costly meals her husband is getting for himself in his lonely home.

Then there are the mothers with young children put into top rooms without fireplaces. Round and round the little country town the mother would push the pram in the wind and the rain, knowing there was no comfort indoors, until the ill-health of the children would bring home to her the necessity of facing possible bombing rather than certain bronchitis.

So as every week has passed, a few more mothers and children have returned. First there were two children in the playground, then six, then nine, until by the beginning of February 43 per cent of the children who had gone in September had come back. (This figure is the same as that officially given for the whole country.) The playing in the courtyard is a little subdued, for all the noisy brothers and sisters are away. But there is method in the return, for there are plans in being "to send the children down to Granny if anything should happen." And if this were not possible, there is still the air-raid shelter, now being constructed by the Borough Council, good and solid, in the playground.

The women, with that stoic quality which distinguishes the working-classes, want to share with their men the difficulties and dangers which may lie ahead. The glory of the working-classes is their pride in their homes and their families. In breaking these

sacred ties, we risk destroying something which may never be replaced, and the women have acted instinctively in coming home. When a man goes to the war he is immolated, a nimbus of knight errantry surrounds him, and should he return he will find his hearth is kept warm for him. But when a woman is evacuated—horrid word—there is no nimbus for her, she is just dumped in a “safe” area, and her home goes to pieces as like as not. It is a new kind of tragedy, very hard to bear, and we should not ask the working women to bear it if they are ready to stay with their men, come raid, come fine, in the cities. To separate the young children from their mothers—unless of course they can be sent to relations in the country—can only be really satisfactory when it is done under the ægis of a nursery school, so that the mother has complete confidence in the arrangements, and the children have proper supervision and companionship. Otherwise it seems best to leave the young children with their mothers, if they have already come home, but to keep those who have settled down in the country where they are, and to push on with arrangements for increasing the number of nursery schools in evacuation areas.

The older children, on the other hand, flourish in their new surroundings. It is the birthright of a healthy boy or girl to run about in the open, to climb trees or to swim in the sea. It was a wonderful sight to see the slum children making for the sea in those warm September days when the evacuation began. The naughty boys, always in trouble in the cities, are naughty boys no more, and it is pleasant to think that they may now

decide to become farmers in Canada instead of cat-burglars in Bermondsey. Reports come from all over the country that the children have put on weight and are much improved physically as a result of their time in the country. Strange misunderstandings occurred in the early days. A farmhouse tea, with butter and milk on the table, was refused, for none of the children could face the strange diet. Margarine and condensed milk was what they understood and liked, and cow's milk was an unknown and distressing phenomenon. A major crisis was provoked when three brothers, expecting to share the same towel, were billeted far from one another at the opposite ends of a village. These minor embarrassments are a thing of the past, but the educational problems are a present embarrassment and perplexity. In the improvised conditions in the country much has depended on the character and quality of the school teachers, who as a whole have responded magnificently to a trying situation. The board schools have become boarding schools overnight.

According to latest reports there are just over 400,000 official evacuees still away, as well as tens of thousands of unofficial ones, and of these between 80 and 90 per cent are getting some sort of schooling, usually in shifts, with a country school. As to the future, the Ilford Borough Council is pointing the way by opening two elementary boarding schools for children over eleven years of age, and twenty new camps have been allocated to schools as a beginning.

BUT THE plight of the children still in the cities is lamentable. The President of the Board of Education

in his speech of February 7 in the House of Lords revealed that of the 1,150,000 children still in the evacuation areas, 400,000 are receiving no schooling or care at all. Such a situation cannot be allowed to continue. Where voluntary helpers are available, invaluable work has been done in organizing small groups, and the children evidently enjoy these unofficial experimental lessons, but such an effort is necessarily on a small scale. The excellent broadcasting service for schools has also been of the greatest help both to schools working on the two-shift system and to small classes organized in private houses.

"Owing to the war our school has been closed," writes a Liverpool child to Mr. S. P. B. Mais, "so we go to each other's houses to do our work and listen to broadcasts to schools." But others are less fortunate and complaints come from many quarters that hordes of youngsters are virtually running wild.

The decision to re-open more

schools in the evacuation areas and to make attendance at school compulsory once more has already been foreshadowed. But this should be coupled with a measure forbidding the return of schoolchildren from the country except for urgent reasons. Only so can the drift back to the towns be prevented. And if the evacuation has not been as complete as was hoped for, even to have got 400,000 school children away into the country is no mean achievement. There is one more aspect of the evacuation which should not be lost sight of. When the castles of Scotland, the manor houses of England and the little country cottages of the West Country opened their doors to the children, a thrill of horror ran down the spine of the "comfortable classes" in Britain at the poverty, dirt, squalor and inadequate food and clothing which the slum children had got accustomed to. Was it not time that such a shock should be administered and that a better environment should be provided for the citizens of the future?

LIBERTY REDEFINED

"The loyalty which we Slovaks have for Germany is based upon our love of liberty, and it is for this reason that our love for the Reich is so deep and heartfelt. The Slovak peoples were oppressed for a thousand years. Now we are free. Until today, the Slovaks did not know loyalty, because how could a people be loyal to an oppressor? Only a free people can be a loyal people. If we, now a free people, are loyal to Germany, we should set the world an example. We know the meaning of honor and therefore—as for love of liberty—we are on Germany's side."

—Sano Mach, commander of the Fascist Glinkagard and propaganda chief of the Slovak Government, cited in the Nazi *Völkischer Beobachter*.

Chilean official says more is needed
than innocuous, sentimental ideals

Union Now for Latin America

By ANIBAL JARA

CONSUL GENERAL OF CHILE

IN 1920, when I was a reporter for a provincial newspaper in Chile, I met a man who had been travelling around South America for five years making a speech about Ibero-Americanism. Some years later I learned from the press that this man was in Mexico repeating the same speech before other weary audiences. I was born and grew to manhood hearing people talk about something called "Ibero-Americanism."

In the past ten years the tune has been changed, and the new song is called "Pan Americanism." It is a melody with more or less the same accents as the previous one.

To the rhythm of this tune—I do not know because of what sardonic contingency of destiny—our trade with the United States, instead of growing, has diminished. And even though a new stanza has been added, the Good Neighbor Policy, statistics go on shrinking before our bewildered eyes. In 1929, when the modulations of Pan Americanism were starting, we sold to the United States \$101,000,000 worth of our products.

In 1938, in full Wagnerian symphony of Pan Americanism, we sold only \$22,000,000 worth. It is painful to think of what has been written, of the toasts that have been drunk, the banquets that have been given, the miles that have been traveled in the meantime, for Pan Americanism. I believe that there is something radically wrong in all this that it is advisable to revise and correct.

I believe that the old Pan-American conception is a frustrated one. It is like a used car; it is necessary to trade it in for a new one. Everything is changing rapidly in this world today. It took us a long time to understand and realize that the ultramodern artists were interpreting a new human sense of the world. We cannot understand yet that we need new interpretations of politics and economy. It is possible that when we realize that we are using an old language for new things, we will better understand the historic meaning of what is happening in Europe. The rapid military methods of Germany have a more profound meaning than the frivo-

lous comment of the press. The mechanical world forces us to move more rapidly; we must seek also a way of thinking in harmony with this march of time.

Pan Americanism, because of an error in farsightedness and vision, was born with a sentimental sense when it should have been founded in a positive economic reality. There is nothing in history which may escape the economic imperatives. Economy is like the blood of history. If Walt Whitman were alive, he could write a marvellous poem about the Pan-American confraternity, but despite that poem, Argentina would not be able to sell a pound of meat more in the United States unless it were convenient to the meat packers in this country. And that is logical. Political and economic ties are not made with adjectives nor with phrases but with the tangible and concrete realities of good business, reciprocal benefits and profits, of mutual commercial satisfactions. Neither countries nor their peoples live by rhetoric. If Pan Americanism were in reality a sentiment, Chilean boats would have free access to the Panama Canal, built by the United States as a vital part of her defence. Although it may seem a paradox, the Panama Canal deviated our destiny and strangled our maritime impulse. Chile was once a seafaring country. I do not know how many years must now elapse before we can come again to our position of fifty years ago. The reasons are too complex to explain briefly.

But what I mean to say in all this is that I do not believe in a philanthropic political economy which might serve as the basis for Pan Ameri-

canism. Economy has no sensibility. If it had it would crumble. There are no worse businesses than those among a family. I am of the conviction that there are here in the United States thousands of men who wish to strengthen the South American economy with a more intimate and permanent commercial relationship; but I am also sure that their wishes are always overcome by the domestic interests that have powerful representation in Congress. It cannot be otherwise. It is childish to ask the United States to apply the brakes to her marvellous productive machinery and thus allow us a small participation in this market. Commercial treaties are not solving any problems; they only stabilize a needy situation. As Consul General, I watch with fright the increase month after month in the number of bills of lading and other documents covering shipments to Chile. We are squeezing our economy to pay for the machinery and tools manufactured in a country with the highest cost of production in the world. We are plowing our land with plows made of gold; we are drilling our mountains with pneumatic drills which seem to have diamond points. I am not formulating charges or accusations against the United States for this. I am only pointing out a pathetic reality.

The United States has progressed too far in her production, and in the problems derived from this production, for her to become an element of equilibrium in an economic Pan Americanism. That is to say, the Latin-American nations are too small economically to be able to share with the United States a Pan-American economic corporation. There is no

equilibrium. There is no homogeneity. Also, the economic structure of the United States has so strengthened a private nucleus that the Latin-American interests cannot cope with an adverse decision taken in the board of directors meeting of any more or less powerful American corporation.

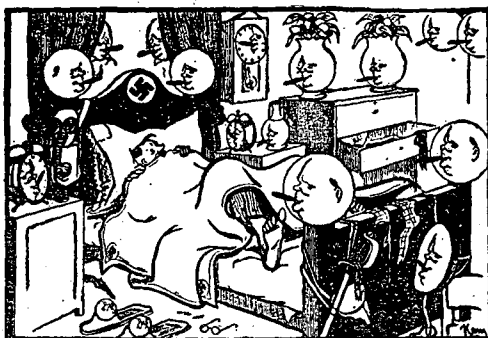
Many statesmen and businessmen in the United States understand that you cannot continue selling to South America on a progressive scale unless at the same time this country buys products from those markets. But there are few products which we Latin Americans can sell in the United States. The United States produces everything that it needs, and it produces to supply the needs of people who have the highest standard of living in the world. Chile has to make the most extraordinary effort to sell her fruits and lentils in this market. We do not know yet where we are going to sell our current crop of apples; hundreds of thousands of quintals of onions rotted last year on our farms. When the prohibition law in this country was repealed, we Chileans rubbed our hands with glee thinking that at last we were going to be able to place our production of wines in this market, but people in this country do not drink much wine and the little

that they do is mostly French. Some experts have suggested that we sell here some of our typical native products such as tapestries, hand-knitted woolen articles and such trinkets. But we cannot exchange a rabbit for a cow.

Sentimental and psychological Pan Americanism cannot remove these barriers. Do I then deny the possibility of an economic Pan Americanism? No. I believe that it is possible to create an homogeneous American unity, but before this can be accomplished the old methods must be destroyed and a modern economy constructed. The impulse now is toward the mass; all individual action, everything small disappears, dragged along by the flood of production. This phenomenon is taking place throughout the world, economically and politically.

The small nations are undergoing a period of trial. This seems to us an injustice, but let us not sing psalms about it while reality advances. I do not know what the sentiments about nationalism will be fifty years from now. If a contemporary of Lincoln should return to life, it is very probable that he would not understand a New Yorker of today, and not because of language difficulties but because of a confusion of concepts. Nobody can assure us that the countries which have disappeared in Europe within the last year will ever be the same again. New political concepts are working throughout the world. The melody of Verdi has been succeeded by the anti-melodic compositions of Bartok or Prokoffief.

Pan Americanism cannot be founded on the basis of the old procedure or of the old American con-



—Le Petit Parisien

ceptions. We Latin Americans must become up-to-date. Ten years ago a Chilean politician proposed a South American customs union; that is to say, a solution of our tariff problems. The idea was rejected because of an absurd pride, but I believe that it will be the first step toward the solution of the present problems of our nations. The economic union of American nations cannot be readjusted while there is an agitated group of small countries beside a nation as powerful as the United States. There is no relation of equity, no economic harmony. We must create an equilibrium, and such an equilibrium can result only from a Latin-American economic federation. This idea may be distasteful to some nation which considers itself momentarily in an advantageous position; but this is an erroneous and dangerous concept and liable to great disillusion.

Latin America has a dark horizon at this moment largely because of the dispersion of her forces. The example of the small nations of Europe is too tragic to be cast aside. We have all the fundamental elements to create our own economy: raw materials in abundance, industrial capacity and markets. Everything is now in disorder, without a plan. We have to try to co-ordinate this economy of the twenty nations of Latin America with their 130,000,000 inhabitants. It is true that this will cost more than the mere expression of words, but it is also true that it will cost much more in the end unless we start working on it now. We have the example of this marvellous productive machine known as the United States of North America. It is probable that we might not be able to

progress as rapidly as this big nation, but in this, as in business, I believe that the difficulty lies in getting together the first million.

IT might seem that the ideas which I have stated are hostilely inclined toward the United States, but that is not so. I only look at the future panorama of this hemisphere with the spirit of a realist. Latin America needs something common to promote, to create and defend, something more tangible than history and legend. We need to give form to our own economy, to stimulate a national production, technical and harmonious, in which there are no conflicts either for markets or for products. The continent of South America is still partly unexplored; we must create a modern system of transportation and more means of communication, not with the political thought of a nation but in the spirit of a vast project of continental economy. We cannot continue thinking separately as isolated nations; we must think as a Latin-American family of nations. I have a great admiration for the genius of the Anglo-Saxon, but I also have a great admiration for the Latin genius. I have the conviction that Latin culture will last as long as there is life on this planet, and I think that Latin America will be the refuge for the thought which has flourished for centuries in Europe.

An economic confederation of the Latin-American nations will enable us, then, to become honorable members of the Pan-American corporation, furnish a meritorious and appropriate force and, therefore, demand an equivalent participation in the destiny of the Americas.

Persons and Personages

PREMIER WITHOUT A COUNTRY

By MARJORIE MCFARLAND

THE territory of the sovereign state of Poland at present consists of a few acres at Angers, France, and similar diplomatic islands scattered about the world. Nevertheless, Poland still is a sovereign state; she has never acceded to German conquest, as did Czechoslovakia through President Hacha. Her present Government is in direct legitimate legal descent and is so recognized diplomatically. England and France deal with her as an ally and an equal. Her army, though organized in France, is a Polish army and not a foreign "legion."

Premier of the Polish Government at Angers and Commander in Chief of the army is General Wladyslaw Sikorski, hero of the first World War and of the Polish-Russian war which followed it, who was once before Premier briefly during the days of Poland's political transition from Paderewski to Pilsudski. In spite of his long career as a soldier, Sikorski is no new military dictator. His "National Unity Government" includes representatives of all Polish factions, even the old Beck-Moscicki-Smigly-Rydz régime, but immediately after its formation, it set about disassociating itself from the policies of its pred-

ecessors. The old Diet and Senate were officially declared dissolved because they had "failed to comply with requirements of the state" and "did not reflect public opinion." They were replaced by a Council of twenty-four members with as its nominal head the aged Paderewski, recalled from his retirement in Switzerland to serve as a symbol of the democracy, independence and unity which Poland had gained under him and then lost again. And the "unity" of the new Government did not preclude its placing the blame for the loss squarely on the old régime.



Poland, said Sikorski, had not been defeated, but only the policies of an unrepresentative Government. Had that Government stood by Czechoslovakia, instead of allowing its hatred for democracy to blind it to the interests of the nation, the story would have been a different one. His own Government is already exchanging views with the Czechoslovaks looking toward a future close bond—even federation—between the two countries, perhaps, he hopes, in a postwar Federated States of Europe.

Sikorski, like many other European leaders, became a soldier and a politician from force of circumstances;

his own design was to be an engineer. He was born an Austrian subject, in Tuszow near Sandomierz in Central Poland in 1881. After his graduation from high school, he was conscripted into the Austrian army, but after he had served his term he returned to school to study engineering at the Polytechnic Institute at Lwow. During his student days and later he was active in various Polish patriotic societies.

In 1914 he was called back to the Austrian army but was transferred to the Polish Legions with the rank of lieutenant colonel and later became commander of the Third Regiment of the Legions. However, his Polish-nationalistic activities finally brought arrest by the Austrians in 1918. After the collapse of the Austrian Empire, Sikorski helped to organize the Polish army and during the Polish-Russian war was advanced to the rank of general and placed in command of the Fifth Army on the northern front, where he gained glory in the Battle of Warsaw in 1920. In 1921 he became Chief of Staff.

In the enthusiasm of their newly gained freedom, the Poles briefly presented a united front under Joseph Pilsudski as temporary chief of state and Ignace Paderewski, then known to the outside world as the outstanding Polish patriot, as their first premier. This happy state of affairs did not last long, and Paderewski soon returned to his music, leaving Poland because of political differences. In December 1922 Gabriel Narutowicz was elected first president of Poland, but following a week of disorders he was assassinated, supposedly by an insane artist. Sikorski was hurriedly called upon to form a government be-

fore the situation could get out of hand.

As Premier, Sikorski chose for his own portfolio that of Minister of the Interior, apparently in the hope of being able to discard his uniform and apply his engineering training to the task of creating the new Poland. Shortly after taking office he outlined his program: Poland should maintain her close relations with France and her alliance with Rumania and should seek to draw closer to England; internally, administrative reorganization, strict limitation and definition of the constitutional rights of the legislative and executive branches, economy and reduction of the cost of living. He had little opportunity to put this program into effect, however, for his Government fell at the end of May 1923, under opposition from the Christian Socialists, the Peasant party and all the minority nationals' representatives. Deputy Reich, on behalf of the Jewish members of Parliament, announced that this opposition was due to the order which Sikorski issued in April decreeing the expulsion of Ukrainian refugees from Poland. (Last Fall, Sikorski, accompanied by Baron Robert de Rothschild, conspicuously attended services for Poland at Paris's largest synagogue.)

IN 1924, Sikorski joined the Government again, this time as Minister of War, but when Pilsudski seized dictatorial control of Poland in 1926, Sikorski at forty-five was retired from both the Government and the army. The breach was still further widened when in 1928 he published a book questioning Pilsudski's version of the victory over the Russians in 1920. Dictators cannot afford to have their

military prowess depreciated. Sikorski was generally recognized as the leader of the anti-Pilsudski parties, but there was no official place for an opposition leader under a one-party system of government. So he lived in retirement at his country home, writing on military subjects; he also spent some time in Paris with the French generals who had become his cronies during the war. Among his publications during this period were *The Russo-Polish Campaign of 1920* with a preface by Foch, *Peace Problems* with a foreword by Painlevé and *Modern Warfare* with a preface by Marshal Pétain. Sikorski was too popular with the Polish people, both politically and as a military hero, for the Government to persecute him to any great extent, but he was carefully watched and finally required to remain within his own country where he could not be so intimate with the French.

THE keynote of Polish politics has always been found in the fierce nationalism of the Poles. They are not much concerned with ideologies or even greatly as to what will raise wages or cause the trains to run on time.

The real basis of Pilsudski's power and that of the later "strong men" of the Beck-Moscicki-Smigly-Rydz régime was that they persuaded the people that Poland's independence required that she maintain a dictatorship of her own between those of Russia and Germany—that Poland could not afford democracy. Eventually, Germany took over Poland with little more trouble than she had with democratic Czechoslovakia, the "strong men" running like rabbits,

and Russia also helped herself to a slice. (Incidentally, Poland is officially at war with Russia, while England and France went to war with Germany for invading Poland on the west but not with Russia for seizing Eastern Poland.)

It was, of course, impossible for the former Government to continue to function from its internment in Rumania, and, in any case, its hasty retirement long before Poland as a whole capitulated, had completely discredited it. Under Polish law, Moscicki was entitled to name his successor. He selected Wladyslaw Raczekiewicz, and Raczekiewicz appointed Sikorski Premier and Commander in Chief of the army.

The Angers Government has signed detailed political military, naval and air agreements with Great Britain and France. The remnants of the Polish navy are under British command, the army under the French. This reorganized army, made up of those who were able to escape from Poland, is not a large one, but the Poles are famous fighters and they are eager to get another chance at the Germans. Neither is the Government penniless, for it had a large supply of gold—reputed to be about \$70,000,000—which is on deposit in France.

The Germans and Russians sneer that Sikorski's Government at Angers is in a class with the shadow courts of ex-royalties which have flourished in Paris suburbs and along the Riviera since the previous war, planning improbable restorations. But if the Allies win, Poland, especially if she already has a democratic government in good working order, may be expected to have an honored place in

the peace councils. In the event of a Nazi victory—well, Poland managed to maintain her national integrity for

150 years during the former partition and is prepared to do so again if she has to.

HUNGARIAN DIPLOMAT

By LILI RENDY.

THE Hungarian member of Parliament and Agrarian Party leader, Tibor de Eckhardt, who has been touring America since April, is one of the keenest and most popular politicians in Central Europe.

When questioned about the aim of his visit, Eckhardt's answer is curt: "To give and receive information," which he refuses to elaborate. "Information," of course, might refer to any subject. In the present European situation, it would be surprising for even an Agrarian leader to leave Hungary for the purpose which Eckhardt announced at home—to study the California fruit-exporting industry and the farming methods of the small agriculturists of the Eastern States. American news commentators insist that he is here to raise "moral funds" for Hungary, in case Hitler decides to invade that country, and to prepare to raise money for post-peace-conference reconstruction work. It is an indication of the fatalism of the small neutrals that Hungarian leaders are said to have already discounted a Nazi invasion, before its occurrence, and to have begun to lay plans for reconstruction and for the fulfillment of their claims when a new map of Europe is demarcated.

Eckhardt has politely denied to newspaper men in New York and Washington any further details of his mission. It is proof of his diplomatic

ability that they have not held this against him, rather lauding his astuteness and intelligence—and no article about him has appeared so far.

This agrarian leader believes that more thought should be devoted, in these strenuous days, to keeping calm, however alarming the headlines may read. "There are too many neurotics running around, anyway," he complains, addressing interviewers, at high noon, in lounging robe and slippers. He regards it as essential, in order to maintain sanity these days, that people play golf, tennis, and ride, activities which to most men would appear a career in themselves. He says, pouring himself a fourth cup of black coffee, "I've never been sick in my life, because I disapprove of it."

When Eckhardt is scheduled to speak in Parliament, it is the most important political and social event in Hungary, with the galleries crowded long in advance. The *sex-faible* goes to see him; official Hungary, leaders of all political parties from extreme rightist Nazi sympathizers to Social Democrats, want to hear what he has to say.

Eckhardt's eloquence saved his country from a very dangerous situation in 1934. Yugoslavia had accused Hungary of being morally responsible for the assassination of King Alexander in Marseilles, which precipitated the most dangerous of a series

of conflicts which Hungary has had with Yugoslavia. Eckhardt was appointed to represent Hungary before the League of Nations, as the only man capable of smoothing over the matter.

His dynamic eloquence not only settled the matter peacefully but won Hungary many friends in the League, as well. It was for this brilliant accomplishment that his old friend, Regent Horthy, conferred on him the title of *Kegyelmes* (Excellency), having also honored him by appointment as Privy Councillor.

Though his family is traditionally political and his maternal grandfather was a legendary figure of the nineteenth century, the most romantic period in Hungarian history, Tibor Eckhardt never wanted to enter politics. On finishing high school, he went abroad to continue his studies in Berlin, Paris and London. He returned home with degrees in international law and sociology and at the age of twenty-six was appointed to an assistant professorship at the University of Pecs. With this he had achieved his whole ambition—to become a professor. The very day that he received his appointment he bought a ticket to Pecs.

An hour from his destination, news of the declaration of war reached him. Eckhardt changed both his mind and his train and returned to Budapest.

He now says, "That was the moment I realized that my private life was behind me. Ever since then I

have felt that no European can afford the luxury of not being a politician."

In 1918 he became chief magistrate of a county in Transylvania. In October of that year, when Count Karolyi's anti-monarchist revolution broke out, Eckhardt refused to obey the orders of the new Government. Instead, he organized a defence army among the peasants of his district to resist not only the Karolyi revolutionaries but the invading Rumanians as well. His successful leadership of this ragged, virtually unarmed band against well-trained troops, the stories of his personal heroism and his final story-book flight on horseback with a Colt pistol in his hand and a price on his head, established him as a romantic idol and a hero of the peasants.

Eckhardt became Under-Secretary of State in the first Counter-Revolutionary Government. In Count Stephen Bethlen's Government he was Chief of the Press Department of the Foreign Office and later Chief of the Press Service of the Prime Minister's office. During the period of reaction at the beginning of the Horthy régime, immediately following the crushing of communism in Hungary, Eckhardt was an extreme rightist. But he abandoned this position in 1931 when he was elected to leadership of the Independent Small Landowners or Agrarian party to which belong most of the peasants, who are oppressed by Hungary's feudalistic land policy. Since then his goal has been the social



Deenac Dobos 1940

reorganization of his country by constitutional means.

There is no more aristocratic European than a Hungarian gentleman, and many doubted that such a one, especially when saturated with Western culture, could succeed as leader of the half-oriental Magyar peasants, could either understand them or win their confidence. Yet he has remained their popular leader, understanding both their minds and their language. In the small Hungarian villages he enjoys the same fame as a speaker that he did at the League of Nations. What he accomplished in Geneva in brilliant French, he achieves among the peasants in the terms of their own rude humor.

With his beautiful wife and two children, Eckhardt lives a quiet and devoted family life in his home in Buda, the older half of Budapest. In the midst of the hectic life of a political leader, he strives to be what he calls a "normal man" and not let the duties and obligations of office dominate him entirely.

He makes it a rule never to become angry, for he despises people who wear their hearts on their sleeves: "Man has emotions so that he may hide them," is his way of putting it. The only things which can make him flush and sit up stiffly are three words, the fighting against which he considers the goal of his life—communism, fascism and conservatism.

SHORT SHORT

The tale is told of a Russian emigré here in Paris who asked and obtained from the Soviet Embassy permission to return to the U. S. S. R. The passport and safe-conduct in his possession, he then arranged with emigré friends that when he wrote them of conditions in blue ink, they should regard his information as gospel, but that when he wrote in red ink his letters abroad should be recognized as false, and that he was unable to report the truth as he saw it.

A few weeks passed, and with each passing day his friends grew more impatient. At last a letter arrived, written in the blue ink which, it had been arranged, should be the signal that he was telling the truth. He wrote:

"Life here is most comfortable. I have found a commodious apartment for a trifling rent. My business prospects are most promising, and I am expecting an interesting job doing useful work in the company of well-educated comrades. The war against Finland was extremely popular. There are no shortages here, other than red ink."

—Marianne, Paris

The American expert argued that enemy commerce destruction is not enough

Admiral Mahan and Sea Power Today

By H. C. FERRABY

From *The Nineteenth Century and After*, London Independent Monthly

N EARLY fifty years ago publication began of a series of works with a common theme which had an influence on world thought and on world politics that is unparalleled by any other books on the art of naval warfare.

I had the curiosity recently to inquire at some of the more important reference libraries whether there had been any increased demand for the American Admiral Mahan's "Sea-Power" books since the war began. There had not. Looking through the latest biography of Mahan, by Capt. W. D. Puleston, I came across this paragraph referring to the year 1912:

"He had some evidence in the sales of his books that his 'vogue was largely over.' He was 'less in demand and therefore must make work' for himself 'without security that it will be wanted.'"

Of Mahan it may be said, more truly than Cyrano de Bergerac said of himself, *Je voudrais travailler*

sans souci de gloire ou de fortune.

The glory came to him, but it is today the glory of legend more than of knowledge. Scores of people who cite the principles which he was the first to clarify and make understood, who talk glibly of the influence of sea power on history, have no first-hand knowledge of the processes of thought on which he based those principles nor of the historical evidence he adduced in support of his conclusions.

If we but turn the pages of his books casually there are phrases most apt to the position in which we find ourselves today.

"The harassment and distress caused to a country by serious interference with its commerce will be conceded by all. It is doubtless a most important secondary operation of naval war and is not likely to be abandoned until war itself shall cease; but regarded as a primary and fundamental measure sufficient in itself to crush an enemy, it is probably a delusion, and a most dangerous delusion

when presented in the fascinating garb of cheapness, to the representatives of a people."

And again in a footnote elsewhere he wrote:

"This is not the place for a discussion of commerce-destroying as a method of war, but having given myself, as I believe, historical demonstration that as a sole or principal resource, maintained by scattered cruisers only, it is insufficient, I wish to warn public opinion against the reaction, the return swing of the pendulum, seen by me with dismay, which would make it of no use at all and under a plea of immunity to 'private property,' so-called, would exempt from attack the maritime commerce of belligerents."

Every phrase in those two passages has a meaning for us at present. For "scattered cruisers" we must read U-boats admittedly, but the principle does not vary. The Germany of Hitler, like the Germany of the Kaiser, is bemused by the iteration of the cry that the U-boat war has broken the sea power of Britain, that all her seaborne trade is dead. Is it, indeed, already forgotten in Germany that the similar campaign of 1917-18 proved to be a most dangerous delusion? Those who read some of the post-war literature of the sea by German writers know that the lesson was there to be read by those who would. Later when nazigation replaced navigation for the Ship of State the lesson was obliterated. Whatever Germany did must be right and victorious and it was the lessons of history that were a delusion.

Yet what are the facts about the U-boat war?

In twenty-seven weeks 168 British merchantmen of 640,000 tons have been sunk. [On May 9, British merchant ship losses totalled 207, an aggregate of 778,174 gross tons.] On the face of it a considerable figure, viewed as a single item of information. But it needs to be placed against relevant items from history. In the Seven Years' War the privateers of Dunkirk, as shown by the Admiralty Court records of the port, took 703 prizes of a value of £15,363,062—and that was in one nest of corsairs alone! Yet at the end of that war, as a hero worshipper of privateering pathetically puts it:

"The King's harbor was rendered unusable, its locks and canals damaged, its jetties broken; its fortifications razed . . . and at the costs of the King an English commissioner was installed at Dunkirk to supervise the demolition."

During the American Revolution Dunkirk revived. A small group of American corsair captains working from the port captured British ships and cargoes worth £12,500,000 (in the money of those days, be it noted), while the total damage done to British seaborne trade by the 160 Dunkirk privateers in that war was 1,002 prizes of a gross value of £65,000,000. In the Napoleonic wars the losses due to privateering were so severe that Parliament passed the Convoy Act in 1798 enforcing ships sailing under escort, yet between 1787 and 1802 the Boulogne privateers took 201 prizes, and the total prizes taken during the wars has been put by one historian at 10,871.

"The conclusion of the War found Great Britain firmly established, not

only as the supreme naval power in the world, but also as the leading commercial one. France, which for centuries had been her continual enemy, was exhausted and no longer dangerous. . . . Had there been no British navy Napoleon might well have reduced the greater part of the Old World to subjection and have inscribed the name of France right across the map from Kerry to Celebes."

Today for Napoleon we may read Hitler.

Lest it be said that these examples are inadmissible, since they refer to the age of sail and to the history of Britain before the industrial era, we must round off the material with facts from the last war. Privateering had been abolished; submarine commerce-destroying had taken its place. In 1915 Britain lost 417 ships and 476 in 1916. With the coming of the unrestricted submarine warfare the total for 1917 rose to 1,227 and in 1918 it fell to 560. The total tonnage lost by submarine, mine, cruisers and aircraft was 7,829,900 tons.

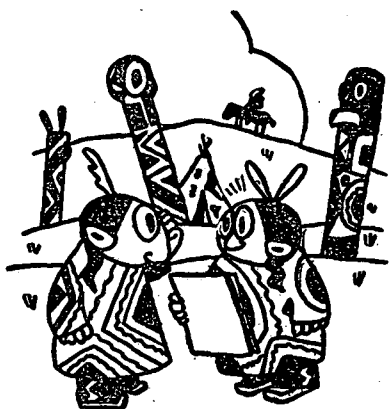
Yet in the end it was Germany upon whom the "unremitting daily silent pressure of sea force" bore hardest,

Germany who pleaded for an armistice, the ships of the German navy that steamed as captives into their opponent's bases.

These are things for which the teaching of Mahan should have prepared public opinion in Britain. He foreshadowed what would be the outcome of any reliance on commerce-destruction as a primary motive in sea war. For that, as all his works tend to demonstrate, is not "sea power." It is not the denial of overseas movement to the adversary: it is but harassment and distress.

WE see the complement of this in the second of the paragraphs I have quoted from Mahan—the importance of the right to impose restrictions on the movements of goods in time of war. The legal enforcement of economic war, which has taken the place of "blockade" as it was still understood in the days when Mahan was writing, is a right common to all belligerents, but in our wars with Germany it has so chanced that geographical conditions have made the right invaluable to us and practically worthless to the enemy. This is purely fortuitous. The position would not arise in any other war. Germany occupies "interior lines," her direct access to the open sea routes is completely barred by the British Isles. But even that favorable position by itself would not determine the outcome of a war between Britain and Germany unless Britain held the command of the sea.

"People often say [Mahan wrote] that such an island or harbor will give control over such a body of water. It is an utter, deplorable and ruinous mistake."



The truth is that to preponderate over the enemy's sea force and so control the sea, there must be superior naval force as well as geographical advantage. In general, this is taken to mean, as the British Admiralty said in a memorandum to the Colonial Conference in 1902, that "to any naval power the destruction of the fleet of the enemy must always be the great object aimed at." Mahan did not subscribe to that view. He did not hold that command of the sea is determined by great battles at sea. In the often quoted summing up of his philosophy he said:

"The battles of naval warfare are few compared with those on land: it is the unrelenting daily silent pressure of naval force when it has attained command of the sea against an opponent—the continuous blocking of communication—which has made sea power so decisive an element in the history of the world."

Does not the history of the whole of the First Great War bear out that view? There were three naval engagements during that war that may rank as major operations—the Falklands, the Dogger Bank and Jutland. Of the three, only one, the Falklands, resulted in "the destruction of the fleet of the enemy." The others were indecisive, as indeed have been so many of the major engagements in naval history. The number of times the enemy fleet has been "destroyed" is insignificant. The number of times it has been demoralized, or, to put it more politely, dissuaded from further activity, is far greater. And it is that dissuasion from active effort to establish preponderance which constitutes, in the end, command of the sea.

In the present war we started, before any fighting could take place, with a material preponderance over Germany far greater than the bare margin of 1914. And in both cases the immediate effect of war on German communications was stoppage of all enemy-borne traffic. In no war in the sailing-ship era was there ever such an instantaneous "dry up." The Germans in 1914 surrendered effective command of the sea without any shadow of effort to maintain their traffic or deliver any blow to defend it. That they should have done the same thing in 1939 is less surprising in view of the disparity in naval forces available to both sides, but in 1914 the action of Germany undoubtedly introduced an unexpected element into the study of the influence of sea power.

Their acceptance of the loss of freedom of movement for their traffic at sea in 1939 deserves comment, however, because it does apparently cut across one of the dicta of Mahan, not one peculiar to him certainly but much quoted in arguments in favor of the building up of naval strength in time of peace.

"A navy, therefore, whose primary sphere of action is war, is . . . a political factor of the utmost importance in international affairs, one more often deterrent than irritant."

It will be argued hereafter by the enthusiasts for disarmament that this is a misbelief; that since the Nazi hierarchy was not deterred from war by its knowledge of inferior naval strength the possession of a large navy is no guarantee of peace. Ergo, we must reduce our navy because it is not a deterrent but potentially an irritant. Already the disarmament

"fans" are at work preparing the ground for the next great Naval Limitation Conference. There were signs of it even in Mr. Cordell Hull's conversations with the American journalists about the Sumner Welles' mission. Among the American projects for a post-war reconstruction of the battered world is a disarmament conference.

THOSE who still cling pathetically to that ideal are either blind to the patent facts of 1921, 1927, 1930 and 1936 or must be in woeful ignorance of them. Certainly no British journalist who was attached to those conferences has any excuse for harboring a hope that naval disarmament is obtainable or even that it is desirable. Germany was no party to those conferences; her building program played no part in the rivalries and the maneuvers behind the scenes and in the sub-committees as well as in the private and most decidedly unofficial chats, which were "off the record" and so were not conversations in the diplomatic sense. The only national pride that was denied and mortified by those treaties was the British. The only national existence that was imperilled by them was the British.

Moreover, it was the knowledge that Britain had so complacently submitted to the whittling down of her one source of strength that was at the root of the Nazi misunderstanding of British policy. And that attitude of concession on sea armament carried us further and further into peril when it produced the Anglo-German Naval Agreement. For our action appeared to the Hitlerites and the Himmlerites, and all those heathen

raging furiously together, as a pledge that we would concede them anything. If we would accept a new German navy—equal, be it noted, to the fleet allowed to France under the Limitation Treaties—then we must indeed be secretly in favor of the Hitler régime. To the German mind no other explanation seemed reasonable. Certainly no German Government—Nazi, republican or monarchist—would ever have made such a concession to us if the positions had been reversed.

The British navy was not a deterrent in the negotiations of 1938 and 1939 because the Nazis could not credit that it would ever be thrown into the scale against them. And that belief they owed to the Agreement of 1935.

Reconstruction of the German navy was not a necessity even for the existence of the Nazi state. It was, as Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond has trenchantly pointed out, for prestige and not for defence that Germany wanted a big navy. Hers was not the attitude of Burke in 1793: "I dread being too much dreaded," he said in the great speech on Allied policy which foreshadowed so remarkably the armed neutralities of fourteen years later. This leads to consideration of a side of the work of Mahan that is seldom referred to in the writings of British students of his works. At the time the sea-power series appeared our commentators on naval matters were so much impressed by his appreciations of British naval history, so enthusiastic over the clarity of the lessons deduced by him from the teachings of British naval operations, that they rarely touched upon the fact that the books were written

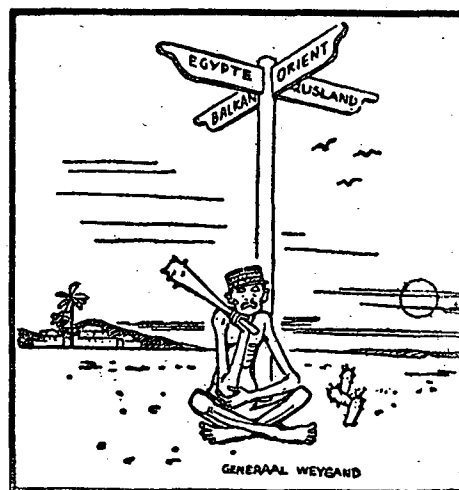
(as were the lectures to the Annapolis Naval College which were the basis of the books) to awaken American opinion to the need for a great navy. Captain Puleston is in no doubt on this point.

"Mahan had written his book (the first of the series) to rekindle among his own countrymen their former interest in sea power. He believed Americans had been so engrossed in developing the interior of the continent that they had unnecessarily thrown away a great heritage. He did not want his country to follow the example of France under Louis XIV and become primarily a land-power."

But at the same time he frankly calls Mahan "an apostle of expansion," and it chanced that coincident with the publication of Mahan's works there was in the United States a national leader to whom the title could even more aptly be applied. Theodore Roosevelt seized upon the sea-power books to help him in converting American public opinion to a policy of expansion across the seas. Letters from Roosevelt and Senator Lodge to Mahan (some quoted by Captain Puleston, others appearing in an earlier biography by Charles Carlisle Taylor) show clearly the influence he had on the expanding programs of naval construction for the United States. It might even be argued (and not easily disproved) that the teachings of Mahan led the United States into the position of being obliged to call the Washington Naval Conference of 1921 in order to check the growth of the world's naval building programs, the largest of which was that planned by America.

Both Captain Puleston and Mr. Taylor write of Mahan as they personally knew him. Neither book can be held to be a critical appraisal of the man either as a historian or as a philosopher of belligerency. (It is a curious fact that almost the only *criticism* of Mahan has been directed by a few writers against his literary style whereas most of those who have read him have found in his phrasing both clarity of expression and a certain musical rhythm that makes for ease and pleasure in reading.)

Both books are the work of hero-worshippers, but both together have a considerable value in their presentation of the man himself, his environment and personality, and particularly his professional career at sea, and in enabling any who care nowadays to come to the study of the sea-power series without the opportunity of personal contact with the author to build for themselves a comprehensive picture of the circumstances which gave birth to both these books.



—Schwarze Korps, Berlin

A Movie Warning to Neutrals

Adapted from the Basle *National-Zeitung* and the Zurich *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, Liberal German-Language Dailies

THE world première in Berlin of the film *Feuertaufe* ("Blood Baptism"), a glorification of the blitzkrieg of the German air force in Poland, was made a great political occasion. [This is the picture which, it has been reported, was shown to a large group of leading Norwegians in Oslo shortly before the invasion of Norway, as one of the moves in Germany's "Trojan horse" campaign.] All foreign military attachés, journalists and other prominent foreigners were invited to the gala showing in the Ufa Palade and the Zoo, where Göring, Colonels General von Brauchitsch and Milch, eight Reich ministers and hundreds of lesser officials appeared in dress uniform. The German press dedicated enthusiastic editorials to this film, and it was noted with particular satisfaction that Count Ciano and several other Italian ministers and generals were present at the première, at the invitation of the German ambassador in Rome.

The eight thousand feet of this film show the terrific destruction of Warsaw, how whole blocks of houses were razed to the cellars, how entire streets are now nothing but heaps of wreckage. In the last part Göring appears on the screen and makes a short speech which finishes with the words: "The promise which the German air force kept to Poland, it will also keep in its dealings with England and

France. There too it will strike at the enemy, defeat him and destroy him." Then a German bomber appears on the screen, flying westward over Koblenz, across the Rhine, while a chorus of air soldiers sings a rough war song about the last decisive battle, predicting the break-up and partition of the "British world empire." As a final vision of the future, the outlines of the British Isles appear, with a German bomber arriving above them; a deafening explosion is heard, immense smoke clouds rise and expand and the scene disappears behind a black curtain.

The authorities expect that the showing of *Feuertaufe* will not only strengthen confidence inside Germany itself but will produce such shattering effects abroad in the neutral countries as to keep alive a wholesome respect for the military machine which is capable of striking such terrible blows. Goebbels' Propaganda Ministry called it "valuable from the political point of view in the interests of the state" and ordered that it be released to thousands of German movie houses at the end of April. It is also being equipped with sound in eighteen languages so that it may be disseminated abroad as widely as possible.

In German studios, in the main, only political subjects are being filmed. And here, as in other fields, one notices that everything is colored

against England. Not a single script is concerned with German-French relations or the war between Germany and France. The famous Ufa studios are now preparing a picture with the title *Sir Roger Casement* in which the Irish struggle for independence is presented, a U-boat film, a colonial film and one on the Boer War. In the latter the famous German actor, Emil Jannings—who several years ago was seen in American movies—plays the role of President Krueger. The next largest company, Tobis, has a similar program in preparation. They too are working on a script dealing with the struggle between England and the Irish. A second film has as its subject the “struggle of a German auxiliary cruiser against the English navy.” Several smaller companies are producing similar films, so this coming Fall the German public will have plenty of opportunity to see political movies.

WHETHER this is the type which they would prefer if they could choose is another question. Light plays and comedies have been playing to packed houses for as long

as three months at a time, since the beginning of the war. Pictures have remained in the same houses uninterrupted for long periods, instead of being changed twice a week, as in peacetime, but even so it may happen on week-ends that seats are sold out an hour before the beginning. The fear of airplane attacks which existed at the beginning of the war has more or less disappeared. Also, at first the inconvenience of blackouts kept most people from leaving their dwellings at night, but remedies were found for this, such as pocket flashlights and luminous shields, and in Berlin many sidewalks were painted with radiating colors. People are willing to undergo any of the discomforts brought about by the war if only they can find diversion from everyday worries. Instead of the chocolates which were formerly sold in the foyers of the theaters, they are buying peppermints; instead of sandwiches, potato or vegetable salads. Anything is welcome which furnishes a few hours' entertainment. If they can no longer return home in a taxi or their own cars, they now use the street cars.

THE RESURRECTED 'ELECTRIC'

Several days ago, in one of the courtyards of Parliament, a group of experts watched the maneuvers of a small coupé operated by batteries. The reason for the experts' interest is that the demonstration was to indicate a means of circumventing the strict rationing of gasoline in the country. The batteries operating the “electric” will last at least one month and are cheaply and easily recharged. Thus the resurrection of the famous “electric” that enjoyed a popularity in the early days of the automobile, with all of the conceivable improvements effected in a quarter of a century.

—*L'Ordre*, Paris

Defences on French border had historic counterpart in the seventeenth century

South Africa's Maginot Line

By ERIC ROSENTHAL

From the Johannesburg Star

SOUTH AFRICA once had her own "Maginot Line," which in length, if not in strength, could well stand comparison with the barriers that run along the opposite banks of the Rhine.

Van Riebeeck's Fort has lately been rebuilt, so that most South Africans today have a fair idea of what it looked like, with its moat, its bastions and its mud ramparts, inside which were the storehouses and the hospital of the Dutch East India Company.

The first fortification in South Africa was slightly bigger than a city block in Johannesburg, 252 feet square, while the ramparts were much more substantial than most writers lead one to believe.

The first step in installing large shore guns, which are now the basis of South Africa's coast defence, occurred within the year of Van Riebeeck's landing, when a "half-moon battery" formed of ten-pounders was placed on the slopes of Table Mountain, in addition to the Fort. Further

defences were built on a rise somewhere near Salt River, where a redoubt was placed, with the peculiar name of "Traenenborg," or "Blubber Castle," because the boiling of whale oil took place there.

Heavy rains played havoc with it, so in 1659 another fort, called "Duijnhooop," or "Duneheap," was put up. This tiny emplacement was smaller than the average dining-room, twelve feet square by eight feet high inside.

Gradually the chain of outposts was pushed on, there being a new one between Salt River and Rondebosch, and still another between Salt River and the Fort itself.

Although the brick and the sods are no more, one portion of Van Riebeeck's defences has survived: part of that same thicket of bushes which gave its name to Rondebosch, and which was meant to keep out the enemy, is still to be found.

Van Riebeeck was a believer in a chain of "pill-boxes," for his re-

doubts were mostly very small, but close together. He elaborated his attempt at what might be called a "Maginot Line" by trying to convert the Cape Peninsula into an island, for which purpose he wished to cut a canal along the narrowest part of the Cape Flats, separating his settlement from inland parts.

Considering its flimsy materials, the Fort Goedehoop did not fare badly. Its life was twenty-two years, and even when it was demolished in 1674, portions of its equipment could still be used in the Castle of the Cape of Good Hope, the most famous fortification ever erected in Africa.

Just as a threat of war caused the new defences of Robben Island to be pushed ahead as rapidly as possible, so those of the Castle were hurried when, in 1672, war with England and France threatened The Netherlands.

Despite its apparent solidity today, a good many mistakes were made in the Castle's design, and a few portions, such as the powder magazine, very nearly collapsed. Like many historic buildings, it is largely patchwork.

Although the Castle is the most famous of its kind, almost the whole of the Cape Peninsula was fortified in the course of time. The very names of many emplacements give a clue to their origin. Fort Knokke is still in being, "a four-pointed star redoubt," dating from 1744 and carrying heavy ordnance, which commanded the Roadstead. The Imhoff Battery, called after Baron von Imhoff, disappeared only in 1896 after having existed for 153 years. No fewer than forty-eight guns and a number of mortars were placed in this position.

The Amsterdam Battery, near the Docks, known to the present generation, succeeded an earlier "*waterkasteel*," and is notable for having the first "bomb-proof dugout," with accommodation for 200 soldiers and many guns.

Further batteries were added when Britain took over, the most famous being the Craig, called after General Craig, on the foreshore of Table Bay, towards Woodstock, the York Redoubt, named after the Duke of York, on the slopes of Table Mountain, with its neighbor, the Prince of Wales.

The King's Blockhouse is even today a famous terminus for walks by Cape hikers toward Devil's Peak. The Charlotte, commemorating an unlucky English Queen, is a memory, as are many others put up during the Napoleonic Wars.

There was a great clearance of forts in 1827, when peace had been restored, but the Castle of Good Hope was preserved, and has remained the headquarters of Cape Town's defences, at any rate on the administrative side, down to the present day.

Fort Frederick was the name under which Port Elizabeth began its existence. Called after the brother of King George III, it was erected in 1789 on the shores of Algoa Bay. Although very much in decay, this venerable structure still exists at Port Elizabeth, and has been described "as probably the oldest building of British construction in Africa, south of the equator." Originally it carried eight 12-pounders and had a garrison of 380 men. Here the troops welcomed the 1820 settlers when they landed.

Even to this day many place-names in the Eastern Province recall the efforts made to safeguard the frontier

against the natives in that uncertain age, just before the Great Trek, when the South African line may be said to have been created.

Just over 100 years ago, in the unfortunate Kaffir War of 1834-35, the outcome of which was one of the immediate causes of the Great Trek, Governor Sir Benjamin D'Urban, of the Cape of Good Hope, caused this chain of military redoubts to be placed all the way from the mouth of the Fish River to the outskirts of the Drakensberg. Despite setbacks and the temporary surrender of "the Province of Queen Adelaide" to the natives on instructions from Downing Street, further additions were made during the following fifteen years, until the power of the Xosas, the Gaikas, the Gcalekas and other tribes was broken.

EACH outpost had its distinctive name, and each was manned by its own garrison, ranging from a dozen or two up to 400, according to the strategic importance of the place. Literally dozens were constructed—Fort Wiltshire, Fort Waterloo, Fort Jameson, Fort Dacre, Fort Armstrong, Fort Murray, Fort Hardinge, Fort England, Fort Adelaide, Fort Montgomery Wilson, Fort Cox, Fort Brown, Doubledrift Fort, Trompetter's Drift Fort and Post Retief (called after the great Piet Retief) near Balfour, Cape Province. Most of them were called after the officers on the station, and not a few afterwards developed into towns.

Characteristic of these early outposts were their stone towers, many of which still survive, and on the top of each a swivel gun was located, capable of being pointed anywhere.

As a rule, the powder magazine was in the basement. Many forts were laboriously rediscovered, overgrown with bush and prickly-pear, by the late Sir George Cory, who tramped these ancient battlefields for a period of years.

Garrisons usually consisted of both infantry and cavalry, and were expected to keep in touch with each other by daily patrols.

Nine forts, including one at the mouth of the Buffalo River, were put up in the '40's, and cost no more than £12,791. Many were the battles fought over these outposts, and numbers of them were abandoned because of technical difficulties in holding them.

Bloemfontein is the possessor of an interesting relic going back to the time before the old Orange Free State had been established. Fort Drury was its official name, and its foundation may still be identified in Fountain Street at the back of Government House, where the original fountain of the chief, Jan Bloem, once ran. Later it was called Queen's Fort, and after the Boers gained their independence it was strengthened with timber and brickwork, till it seemed a formidable place to the simple farmers.

Overlooking Pietermaritzburg is Fort Napier, called after General Napier, who won fame in the Peninsula War against Napoleon. Garrisons were stationed there until well into the twentieth century, and during the Great War it became a prison camp for German internees, nearly 5,000 of whom remained there for four years. Today the quarters are occupied by officials of various government departments.

In the Transvaal the oldest forts

are in the Low Veld. One of them may still be traced near the old Voortrekker village of Origstad. During the Sekukuni War, Fort Burgher and Fort Weber were built, not far from Lydenburg, and later on the British, during the first occupation of the country from 1876 to 1880, added several others.

Vastly exaggerated figures have been given at various times concerning the cost of Fort Klapperkop and Schanskop, and the one at the top of Hospital Hill, in Johannesburg, now used as a gaol. Actually, the Pretoria forts cost £250,000, and the one at Johannesburg £120,000. Great excavations exist in their basements for magazines, stores, etc., and few people are aware that each has its own

well. Although they were erected during the tense periods following the Jamieson Raid in 1896, no shots were ever fired from these strongholds against an enemy, a record which must apply to very few forts. Durban Bluff obtained its first shore batteries about 1896, thanks to the efforts of Sir Harry Escombe, and these batteries were frequently added to and improved.

The most picturesque fortresses, however, were those created during the South African War, when Kimberley converted her dumps into impregnable defences, when the head-gears of De Beers' mines carried conning towers and searchlights, and when the waterworks were banked up with grain bags.

THE LEADER

By SAGITTARIUS

They prayed for one to guide and lead,
He came at last unheralded
To give his people in their need
Work, peace and bread.

He warmed them at the fires of hate,
He fed them on imagined wrong,
He made the race inviolate,
Feared, safe and strong.

Evil with good he reconciled,
They for his blessings sacrificed
Daughters and sons, the unborn child,
The creed of Christ.

He showed earth's kingdoms spread below,
He scaled the height; they headlong fell
The soul's and body's death to know
And war's unutterable hell.

—*New Statesman and Nation*, London

Straws in the Wind

Two-Word Ambition

It seems that Chancellor Hitler recently paid a visit to an elementary school in Berlin, and commanded that the three best scholars be presented to him. Of the first gifted lad, he asked:

"What is your name?"

"Otto Muller, *mein Führer*."

"Very good. Now, if I were your father, what would you like to be?"

"I'd like to be a general."

"Splendid. I will see that you are sent to the military college at Potsdam, and in time a general you will be."

The Führer posed the same questions to the second pupil, who confessed an ambition to become an admiral.

"Wonderful," Hitler replied. "I'll send you later to the cadet school at Kiel, and in time you'll have an admiral's uniform."

Asked his name, the third pupil revealed it was Isaac Levy.

"But you're Jewish," the Chancellor expostulated. "Well, never mind, I'll ask you the same question: if I were your father, what would you like to become?"

"An orphan."

—*Paris-Soir*

Carrots

During German occupation of Belgium in the Great War, the Belgians were more impressed by the German officers' spiked helmets than by the Imperial Eagle. Solemnly little boys would put on their berets, through whose tops sprouted spiked carrots. Groups of youngsters would gravely snap to attention at the sight of an officer, then, as if to follow him, they cackled "*Nach Paris*" while goose-stepping backward.

There was little the embarrassed Germans could do against this juvenile mockery. However there still exist in Brussels a few German posters futilely decreeing that the wearing of upstanding carrots on the head is "*verboten*."

—*N. Z. National Review*, Auckland

Immortal Porker

In Luxembourg there is a memorial in the shape of a granite pedestal inscribed: "Passer-by, here you behold the mortal remains of the pig which acquired for itself imperishable glory by the discovery of the salt springs of Luxembourg."

—*Digest*, London

But Informed of What?

The German newspaper reader today is the best-informed of any in the entire world.

—Dr. Otto Dietrich, Nazi press chief, quoted in the *Koelnische Zeitung*

The New Currency

A Berlin dealer in antiques recently offered an *objet d'art* to a foreign client for 250 marks in cash, plus two pounds of coffee.

—*Proia*, Athens

Who Brought This Up?

There is one subject upon which all writers about Japan are in agreement. Regardless of their sympathy or antipathy for other aspects of Japan, all unite in praising the Japanese woman for her modesty and natural charm, especially when dressed in her *kimono* and *obi*.

—*Contemporary Japan*

Obvious Insanity

Once there was a man who said: "I have devised a scheme that will completely do away with all submarine disasters."

"It can't be," they objected. "Too many people have tried unsuccessfully."

"I will guarantee," said the man, "that if my plan is adopted, not a single life will ever be lost inside a submarine."

"O.K.," they said, "but how many billions will it cost? Money these days does not grow on trees."

"The best feature of my plan," he retorted,

"is that it will not cost a single, solitary cent,"
 "Incredible," they objected. "But anyhow,
 what is your plan?"

And he said: "Don't build submarines."

They put him in the asylum, because anybody could see that he was obviously crazy.

—*The Forum*, Johannesburg

No Talent

Professor Isoo Abe, it seems, makes a poor politician. Of his proposed leadership of a new Labor party, a contemporary remarks: "Speaking of Mr. Abe, he doesn't seem to be anything more than a man of character. Certainly he does not appear to be endowed with any special political talent." Comment would spoil this choice estimate.

—*Japan Chronicle*

The Retort Unambiguous

A Gestapo agent was giving the third degree to a German schoolboy:

"Have you a picture of the *Führer* hanging at home?"

"No, sir."

"Well, have you a portrait of Marshal Göring?"

"No, sir."

"Well, at least you have a photo of Dr. Goebbels?"

"No, sir."

"No one?"

"Excuse me, sir. My father says he will make up for this, when he gets out of the concentration camp, by hanging all three of them."

—*Gringoire*, Paris

Couldn't Be Plainer

There are many phases in the English language which will live in the memory, though none will live longer than the simple sentence written last week by the leading writer of the greatest newspaper in the world.

It was, "Bad bacon is not good."

For lucidity, clarity, style and plain statement of an indisputable fact it is unequalled.

—Nathaniel Gubbins in the
Sunday Express, London

How Art Is Born

The art of the dance is one that expresses human thought or emotion by means of bodily movement.

When a person is glad his first reaction is to smile. The smile merges into a titter and the titter into laughter. When laughter reaches a certain point the impulse is to clap hands and stamp the feet. One may even make noises by striking various objects to express his feelings with different sounds. When noise no longer satisfies, he begins to wave his arms and jump around. That is the case with joy. In the case of sorrow, one's voice breaks into weeping, possibly followed by wailing aloud. In extreme anguish, one may shake from head to toe and roll about the room. The same may be said of anger.

But these reactions are instinctive, not deliberate. When they become deliberate, they are called, in the case of noise, music, and in the case of words, literature. When neither sound nor words seem adequate expression, they become the dance. Only then is art born.

—*Chisei*, Japan

Half a War

The Irish, living up to their reputation, provided the oddest paradox of the war—so far. They have a village called Pettigo, which is half at war with Hitler and half strictly neutral. Pettigo, you see, lets the border between Northern Ireland and Eire cut it in two.

So if you live in Belligerent Pettigo you get a gas mask and identity card, have to black-out at night and pay war tax on your whisky. If you live in Neutral Pettigo, you just go on sitting on your side of the bridge sucking your duff and spitting into the stream, at peace with the whole wide world.

The village has 346 inhabitants and two complete sets of local governments, school systems, customs officers and police forces.

The police force of Belligerent Pettigo dogged the footsteps of a newspaper cameraman. "You can't take pictures *here*," he said kindly but firmly. "Just you move over to the right a bit and get into neutral territory and I won't be able to say a word to you."

—*Illustrated*, London

Recent events are tending to disrupt labor solidarity throughout the world

Labor Movements and This War

By ARNOLD RÖLLER

BELLIGERENTS and neutrals alike are completely dependent today upon labor for their survival. The opinions and policies of labor organizations with respect to the war are, accordingly, of particular interest at this critical stage of the conflict in Europe.

It might be supposed, at least theoretically, that organized labor could halt the conflict by means easier to employ, and more effective, than measures by any other class, short of a simultaneous mutiny by the men at the front. Labor could, it would seem under certain circumstances, merely refuse to produce. Modern warfare has an over-all industrial character, and its front-lines are not in the trenches but in the war industries, the oil-wells and the ore-mines.

Labor could halt the war, indeed, if labor and its organizations throughout the world reacted identically to the principles at issue. But one of the first casualties of the war was the labor tradition of solidarity, of unity

of aims—the ideal that motivated the founders of the world's labor movements late in the last century. They promoted the idea and the hope that the call of the Labor Internationals for solidarity would bring immediate response, and that despite political, social and religious differences, labor would maintain a common front on major issues, and by common strike action exact compromises from capital, at least in some substantial measure, over a period of time.

It will be recalled that the last words of Karl Marx's Manifesto, "Workers of the World, Unite!" became the slogan of all labor parties and movements from the extreme right-wing Social-Democrats to the anarcho-syndicalists. All great leaders of the Socialist parties, Jaurès in France, Bebel in Germany, Keir Hardie in England, Plekhanov and Lenin in Russia, believed that in the event of war, the workers would refuse to take up arms. The more radical elements in the labor move-

ment, the anarchists and the syndicalists, advocated a general strike in case of war, but in this were opposed by the socialist majorities at all international labor congresses.

But all international labor solidarity seems finished today. One may no longer speak of "Labor" or of the "working class" in the sense of a vast and united movement. About the only issue—and among the belligerent nations even that is now an abstract issue—that the workers agree upon is the old formula of higher wages and shorter hours. The Communist-Nazi pact of last August, and the outbreak of war soon thereafter, followed by the invasion by the U.S.S.R. of Finland, has smashed labor organizations into impotent fragments, so far as a common political front is concerned. Today the bitterness existing among factions of the labor parties and unions is frequently more acrimonious than that prevailing among any other political groups.

Among the various labor, socialist and communist organizations in the United States the utmost chaos exists today. The Communist party here, along with the few unions it dominates and its uncounted "fellow-travellers," professes to be violently "pacifist and isolationist," demands an embargo of all war materials required of this country by the Allies, but cautions its membership not to boycott German goods (a somewhat academic admonition, since the quantity of American imports from the Reich long since reached the vanishing-point). That inconsistency, even among the most devoted of Stalin worshippers, is not calculated to hold leftists together in this country. And the inconsistency is not reduced when

it is recalled that only a few weeks before the war the Moscow Communist International was calling upon workers everywhere, and those in the United States were mentioned specifically, to join the democratic nations in a war against Nazism, and to unite for "collective security." Today the Communists everywhere are howling for peace-at-any-price, which in the present state of the conflict means peace on Hitler's terms. In none of the Communist newspapers in this country, not even in the Jewish press printed in Yiddish, appears any word of criticism of Germany, whose recent pogroms have evidently been erased from memory, while the war in Europe is labelled day in and out as "the imperialistic war of the Anglo-French war-mongers against the German people." The phrase is identical with the stock-phrase used in the Nazi press.

THE "splinter groups" of the Communist party in the United States approve by tacit consent this sanction of Hitler and the peace-at-any-price doctrine. Such groups include the Lovestonites, the Trotskyites and such dissident factions. Like the Communist command, they have relegated to second place the improvement of the condition of the workers. Labor appears to be a very secondary concern. The Trotskyites, for example, recently split over the Finnish invasion; one group here led by James Cannon approved, with Trotsky, the "rescue" of Finland from British "imperialists," while the dissident faction, led by Max Schachtman (one-time chief lieutenant of Trotsky in the United States) today shouts down the Can-

nonites, and hurls at them Lenin's declaration that every national group is entitled to its independence.

Aside from the Communists, the other group in this country professing a concern with the condition and rights of labor is the Socialist party, led by Norman Thomas. They are consistently opposed to the Stalinist régime, but with it they are adamant against American supply of war materials to the Allies. They are also vehemently opposed to American participation in the war, but so far as it is possible their pacifism is consistent. For example, they were pacifist when the Communist press here, following the order of Moscow, was calling for the intervention of American labor in a fight to defeat Hitler. But the Socialist party in this country has no great influence in the ranks of American labor, and a large percentage of its following of about ten thousand is recruited from the lower-middle-class intelligentsia.

Of more interest to labor in the United States is another socialist faction, the Social-Democratic Federation, which stems from the original Socialist movement. Its membership, and its party organ *The New Leader*, is unreservedly pro-Ally, and argues in support of all possible American aid to Britain and France, short of intervention. The party is not strongly organized, and dues are moderate, but at a recent anniversary dinner, attended by representatives of a large number of trade-union locals in New York, no difficulty was encountered in raising \$3,500. But the Social-Democratic Federation represents an infinitesimal number of American workers.

The effect of the Communist-Nazi

pact, of the Finnish invasion, and of the Communist inconsistencies in this country upon a great mass of American labor which belongs to the A. F. of L., is plain to see. Speaking generally, the A. F. of L. membership may be said to be sympathetic to the cause of the Allies. While several A. F. of L. leaders were quite outspoken in their sympathies, no such statements were made by CIO leaders, due perhaps to the great disparity of opinions within that organization.

In Britain, by far the majority of the trade-unions and the membership of the Labor Party, with 164 members in Parliament, supports the nation's war and peace aims. In the cabinet reorganization in May, Labor was represented by Major Clement R. Atlee as Lord Privy Seal, Arthur Greenwood as minister without portfolio, Albert V. Alexander as First Lord of the Admiralty, and Herbert Morrison as minister of supplies. Ernest Bevin, general secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union became Minister of Labor and National Service. Support of the government by the Independent Labor Party, with three members in Parliament and a total membership in Britain of some 7,000, has been less wholehearted: at a recent council meeting delegates announced their policy was to co-operate with neutrals in peace negotiations with Germany, when the Reich was prepared to restore the independence of Austria, Poland and Czechoslovakia, and to guarantee that resort to force would not be employed during the erection of another League of Nations or some European federation. Mr. Chamberlain was condemned. A slight flurry was caused

this spring when the Essex Council of the National Union of Railwaymen, a numerically small member of the Labor Union Congress, voted a resolution condemning the war as "imperialistic" and demanded an immediate end to hostilities. The Communist source of this resolution was seen in another sentence in the resolution which demanded that "all [British] assistance to the White Guards and the fascist rulers of Finland should stop."

This is far from the view of the mass of organized British labor as represented in the Labor Union Congress, the parent body of all the large trade-unions in England, corresponding to the A. F. of L. Some months ago, at the invitation of the International Federation of Trade Unions, it established in conjunction with the Confédération Générale du Travail (the French parent body) a Franco-British Workers Committee for the purpose of co-operation with their respective governments; this committee is to aid in the settlement of conflicts which may arise over hours and wages, particularly in industries vital to war needs. (Incidentally, the aforementioned International Federation of Trade Unions is usually referred to, by its headquarters, as the "Amsterdam International" and is under the influence of Socialists of all nations that are still members of the League of Nations.)

FURTHER reflecting a desire for common action, conferences have begun between delegates of the French Socialist Party, which under the leadership of ex-Premier Léon Blum has 155 representatives in the French Parliament, and representa-

tives of the British Labor Party. The conferences are held alternately in Paris and London, under the immediate sponsorship of the Brussels Labor Socialist Internationale, sometimes called the Second International to distinguish it from the Third or Communist International of Moscow; the sponsoring body is seeking to attract to these conferences envoys from the socialist parties of neutral countries. This is not the easiest task since the upshot of all these conferences are resolutions re-emphasizing the identity of the workers' aims with the war aims of the two governments, a position which neutral socialist delegates might deem it unsafe to take. Besides this difficulty, there is a certain amount of internecine warfare at these meetings: British Socialists, for example, are far more leftist than is the British Labor Party, and the former have severed all ties with the U. S. S. R., which in the past they frequently defended. But the lay worker gives up attempting to fathom the other differences. Although ties have been broken with the Soviet Union, British Socialists are opposed to extending the war to Russia; a course of action demanded by many conservatives in Britain as well as in France.

In Belgium, the Netherlands and Sweden, labor policies have been analogous to those in Britain and France, although since the spread of war to the Lowlands and Belgium there is probably more single-mindedness of purpose to free the country from the invaders.

The Russian *volte-face* toward the Nazis has had definite repercussions among labor organizations in Latin-

America. After the Roosevelt series of Good Neighbor pronouncements, popular references to "Yankee imperialism," the "Yankee oppressor of Latin Americans," etc., became less frequent, or at least were relatively rare at meetings of member-groups of the United Front. It is something of a puzzle why, once the Nazi-Communist pact was signed last fall, all the old anti-Uncle-Sam slogans reappeared, and propagandist campaigns against this country were resumed by a considerable number of labor leaders.

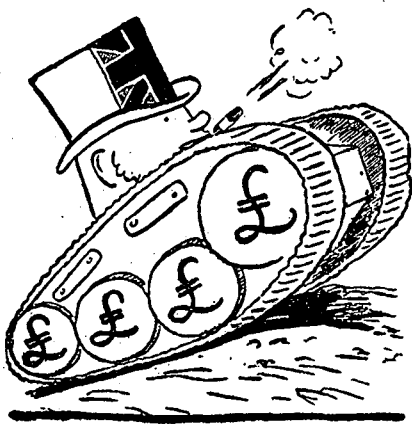
The ostensible reason, at least in the case of the Mexican Labor Confederation, for this sudden hostility is that the United States is supplying war materials to the Allies, and because of Mr. Roosevelt's occasional attacks on "European dictators," which are susceptible of interpretation as attacks upon Stalin as well as others. That explanation at least makes sense in the instance of labor groups in Mexico, which are dominated by Communists.

That the labor organizations and socialist parties in the overseas empire may adopt the same attitude as

their comrades at home was suggested in a recent dispatch from Wellington.

The New Zealand Labor Party, for example, which is the ruling political group in the islands, by a large majority vote, recently expelled John Lee, leader of the left-wing group, because of his advocacy of co-operation with the Communists in a "Peace and Anti-Conscription Council."

BONA fide trade-unions throughout the world, in countries where their leaders are permitted to express an opinion—and that includes workers in the German-speaking regions of Switzerland—favor the Allies. The exceptions to this rule are where there is Communist or Nazi infiltration into these unions, and the upshot is that, frequently, policies become so jumbled that they are meaningless. In Fascist nations in Europe, or Fascist-occupied nations, trade-unions have no policy other than that given out by the official labor ministries. Obviously, that is not the opinion of the mass of the workers; when the worker knows that to speak his mind is to take a cure at a concentration camp, the worker keeps still, unless he craves martyrdom. The other alternative is to join one of the underground organizations, and it is a toss-up how long he lives in either case. Where only a few months ago the German Communists had all been driven underground, today they are among the Nazis' most active and pampered agents. The Communist leader Ulbricht in the Reich prefaces his statements to workers with the familiar Nazi charge that "Great Britain is the most reactionary force in the world."



—Il Travaso delle Idee, Rome

A Nazi Defines 'Plutocracy'

By HEINZ HOPFL

Translated from the *Völkischer Beobachter*, Munich

THE Anglo-Jewish Plutocracy has declared a life-and-death war on the German people. What is meant by "plutocracy"? What does a plutocratic state-form signify and how does a plutocracy act?

This word has its origin—like the conceptions democracy, monarchy, aristocracy, oligarchy, etc.—in the Greek and is derived from *plutos* (riches) and *kratein* (to rule). A system of state is called a plutocracy when riches are the determining factor in the selection of its rulers. The historical prototype of such a rule, based exclusively on money and property, was the city-state of Carthage in which the people were excluded from any voice in the government of the state, which was controlled by wealthy merchants.

Among modern states, the British commonwealth embodies the plutocratic principle in its purest form. The designation of England as a plutocracy is no slogan created during the struggle of our day. It already had uncontested validity when England first emerged as a world power. The origins of plutocratic England go back to Queen Elizabeth and the plundering expeditions of Drake and Raleigh which were sanctioned by the government of that period. (Even the

English historians admit this.) These piracies were the signal for the gigantic conquests in all parts of the world which resulted in the British Empire. These triumphs were certainly not crowned with the laurels of "right, freedom, order and morality" for which the satiated England of today pretends to be fighting; they were an uninterrupted procession of aggression and the brutal oppression of small and large peoples, their only legal basis power and violence.

England became rich by plundering India, which is today considered the most important link in the British world empire. English trading and economic organizations preceded and laid the groundwork for English political rule there. The interests of England's capital have dictated her policy in India up to the present day.

That is plutocratic rule.

The Boer Republic was another victim of the same British money-interests. The gold and diamonds of South Africa led England to the bloody oppression of the Boers, an oppression which still continues.

That is plutocratic greed.

English opium traders induced the British Government to make war on China because she attempted to defend herself against the introduction

of their destructive poison. England forced China to cede Hong Kong, which is still in her possession.

That is plutocratic unscrupulousness.

The oil riches of Asia Minor determined England's policy of violence in that region. British oil magnates, mostly Jews, are responsible for the régime of terror under which Arabic Palestine suffers now. That is why Iraq is still a British dependency; two of its kings, Feisal and Ghazi, have been assassinated because they sought to free their country from the British.

That is plutocratic robbery.

These are examples of links in an almost endless chain. The history of the British world empire is the history of the rape of other countries by British economic interests.

Such a history was possible because of a government system in which money and origin are the criteria. The amalgamation of the land-owning nobility with the millionaire captains of industry and their politics-playing sons has a monopoly of political power, as every list of British cabinet ministers proves conclusively.

Riches are also the basis of eligibility to Parliament. The House of Commons—to say nothing of the House of Lords—does not really represent the people. It is, in general, open only to those who can pay out of their own pockets the high cost of their elections and who can afford to

live, in part at least, on their own private incomes.

The House of Commons, however, has no influence on important decisions. Those are made by a small group of men who are generally not even in the forefront of the political scene. Every Englishman knows that in determining the policies of his country the feudal clubs of London are more important than the Gothic chatter-lodge on the Thames.

The social revolution in which the German people's commonwealth has expressed itself is, of course, an abomination to the plutocratic rulers of England. They sense the dangers in it to the privileges of their caste, foreseeing the day when the masses of the British people, aroused by the example of Germany, will begin to discuss the social structure of England. This ruling caste knows that when that day comes, their decaying society will collapse. The hatred engendered by their fear was their incentive for unleashing war on the German people.

The Prescient Poet

Before the war began, a British tourist paid a visit to the birthplace of Schiller at Marbach. "It was here," the German guide informed the visitor, "that our national poet was born."

"Not at all," the British visitor replied, testily, "he was an international poet."

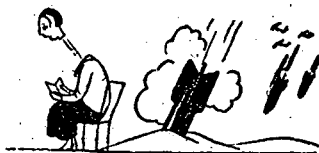
"But how can you say that, sir?"

"Because Schiller wrote the *Maid of Orleans* for the French, *Egmont* for the Dutch, *Mary Stuart* for us British, and *William Tell* for the Swiss."

The guide scratched his head. "But what did he write for Germans?"

"*The Robbers*."

—L'Ordre, Paris



A noted woman publicist warns the
British not to hold their ally lightly

France Wants No Peace Talk—Now

By ODETTE KEUN

From the *Nineteenth Century and After*,
London Independent Monthly

Editor's Note: In its February, 1940 issue The Living Age published an article by Mme. Keun describing the divergences in the peace aims of the British and French, and the irritation of the French at what they call the unrealistic attitude of the British. In the article below Mme. Keun reports on the further crystallization of these differences and their possible serious effect not only on peace in the future but on war in the present. As this article was written before the invasion of Norway, she does not indicate what the reaction of the French may be if they blame similar British "unrealism" in military matters for Allied defeats there.

THE CONTROVERSY on peace aims which started in England almost immediately after the declaration of war, aroused at first in France great surprise and distrust. The surprise proceeded from the fact that at such an early stage the English apparently considered it

more necessary to discuss the methods of establishing the peace than the methods of winning the war; and the distrust was the consequence of a belief in a German trap. "The Traitor of Stuttgart," the French counterpart of Lord Haw-Haw, who incessantly urged the French to define their peace aims prematurely, was held to be trying to sow discord between the Allies, and the papers were warned not to facilitate his little game. But as time went on, the development of the debate in England obliged the French to deal with the question.

It seems to me extremely important, before summarizing the trends of these discussions, to point out that the basis on which they all rest is one and the same. There are undoubtedly some pro-fascist groups supporting totalitarianism at large as a system of government; and there is the Communist party, which, although legally disbanded, is still very active underground and aims as ever at the replacement of capitalism by a Marxist

economy. But the French people are essentially of one mind as regards what Germany, taken as a nation, represents. No divergences of opinion exist, in the masses of any class, concerning the foundations of the "French case" against Germany. The differences only relate to the practical measures that should be adopted after the Allied victory. Without a clear initial understanding of the conception of Germany held quasi-unanimously by the French people, it is not possible to grasp entirely the soundness of their peace aims.

THE French argument, which I can condense here only very briefly, is based upon a threefold experience of Germany: historical, psychological, and political. (a) The French contend that the outstanding feature of their whole history is the effort to resist Teutonic aggression, and establish, by some means or other, security on their eternally precarious Eastern borders. (b) They maintain that the preponderant psychological characteristic of the Germans, considered as a race, is *desmesure*, that is, immoderation, intemperateness, excessiveness. Evidence proves that whenever a leader arose who incarnated this distinctive German vice (whether the leader was a Frederick the Great, or a Bismarck, or a William II, or a Hitler is immaterial), his people followed him heart and soul—and that his call, instantly and universally responded to, was always the same: the call to force, to conquest, to ruthlessness, to brutality, to faithlessness if faithlessness was expedient. The Germans' idea of order is that of a blind and complete obedience to authority—not in-

dividual judgment, but a surrender of their entire personality into the hands of a *Führer*, who lifts from them the burden of responsibility and at the same time satisfies their need of docility and regimentation and the primitive mysticism which leads them to indulge in monstrously grandiose dreams. (c) Germany existed for a very long period as a loose confederation of numerous little independent states, during which period the interplay of regionalism and the conflicting interests of the various princes prevented them from vitally endangering Europe. Among these states, however, one, Prussia, was from its very inception the archetype of the modern militarist state. It rose to predominance by successful campaigns for territorial aggrandizement, and because of the prestige thus gained, saturated the immensely receptive German peoples with its cardinal principles: love of war, preparation for war, the placing of the state above all law. After it defeated Denmark in 1864, Austria in 1866 and France in 1871, it became powerful enough to override all opposition and merge the German states in an empire. What happened then was the formation, in the middle of Europe, of the largest and most compact ethnical agglomeration, with one government, a homogeneous army under a single command, and tremendous industrial resources eminently calculated to increase its capacity for aggression—the whole entity being pervaded by Prussian ideology and instructed in Prussian methods. Since the hour when Prussia engineered the national unity of Germany, Europe has lived alternately under an armed peace with continual menaces, and that of war in its

most ferociously unscrupulous form.

How is Europe to be defended, ask the French, against the persistent German madness, and therefore the persistent German peril? They do not doubt that Germany will finally be beaten in this struggle, but neither do they doubt that she is totally incapable of a spontaneous and genuine democratization *a f t e r d e f e a t*. German youth has been indoctrinated during the last ten or twelve years with the most violent Nazi propaganda, so the generation the Allies will mainly have to tackle is already fully trained in intolerance, fanaticism, cruelty, lies, and the will to dominate. The French, conscious of the laws of growth and of their own passage from imperialism to democracy, do not assert that no change will ever supervene in the Teutonic disposition, but time is needed, and during this period of time, forcible steps must be taken to insure that Germany will not shatter again, as she chooses, the peace and progress of Europe.

This inflexible determination implies that Germany must be reduced to military impotence. On this vital point, too, there is no split in French public opinion anywhere. But the proposed methods by which German military impotence can be achieved vary according to the political parties. The extremists, composed of more or less right wing groups, wage a very active campaign for the destruction of German unity and the compulsory return of the nation to a system of small separate self-governing states. The *leit-motiv* of these groups is that there are not two Germanies, one good and one bad, but simply a weak Germany and a strong Germany. I do not say that these parties are rep-

resentative of public opinion generally, or that they express the Government's point of view, but their protagonists are intelligent, their energy is unflagging, and their political influence considerable.

On the other hand, the majority of the Socialist party, liberal papers and a number of historians and left wing intellectuals support the solution of an eventual European federation. But the conception of such a federation, and especially the approach to it, are not by any means identical with the English notions, and I think it very necessary to stress the dissimilarities between the two theses. In itself, the idea of a European federation awakens a keen interest in France. It was originally broached by Briand; it is in conformity with the rationalistic faith in the intelligence and progress of mankind; it appeals to the very deep sentiment of European solidarity with which the French, who have molded the civilization of Europe and borne the repercussion of European events to a far greater extent than any other people, are impregnated; and it admittedly represents the ultimate form of European order, liberty and prosperity.

BUT ON the whole, French opinion reacts strongly against the extravagant ardor for immediate federation which one finds in England. The book of Clarence Streit, *Union Now*, that set the ball rolling, struck the French intelligentsia as peculiarly naïve, and shocked them by a sort of prophetic dogmatism which betrayed both a preposterous over-simplification of thought and an enormous ignorance of the concrete realities of Europe. The recent literary outpourings on the

same topic by a section of the English left wing writers seem to them quite as devoid of any perception of the true nature of European problems. Most of the Anglo-Saxon federal unionists float on clouds of futile words far above the intricate web of European actualities; they make of federation a cult, a fetish, a panacea which they apply without any sort of discrimination whatsoever to all the European tangles, simultaneously, recognizing neither the complications and ramifications of these subjects nor the different conceptions of human freedom that prevail in various countries. Indeed, the conclusion to be drawn from their astounding political sentimentality is that you have but to decree federation and human nature will automatically exercise all the qualities specific to the angels.

The contention of the French is that you cannot leap from an old world into a new one at an hour's notice. They know the past of Europe too well to suppose that federation will not upset—perhaps, even, tragically upset—traditional mentalities, emotions, habits of living; or that it will not provoke resistance—perhaps, even, desperate resistance, dangerous for the whole project. Partly an intellectual, partly a peasant people, they feel instinctively what care is required to bring to maturity a cornfield, a vineyard, a cathedral, a nation: in the same way they feel that a long phase of adaptation and acclimatization is required before a new idea grows such deep roots in the realities as will render it stronger than events or strong enough to influence and direct events. Besides, if they are opposed to dictatorships, they are also

opposed to impersonal centralization, to colossal and unwieldy units, to standardization and the levelling of local things fashioned by culture and time, for one of the most invariable characteristics of the French spirit is the domination of the self over the system and the passionate value attached to individuality.

I think it safe to say that the country will make up its mind about a European union only after it sees how the Anglo-French partnership works during the war. Just now the chief hope, entertained with an unprecedented intensity, is that England will not pull out of Europe as she did after the last peace; will not crazily preach collective pacifism instead of erecting collective security; will not compel France to resort again, in a dreadful search for self-preservation, to continental expedients and wobbly treaties, or to a drastic smashing of Germany in the post-war era. One of these two things must take place unless England puts her men and her wealth into the sustained policing of Europe, and turns at long last into a good European relying not on international machinery to co-ordinate the affairs of the distracted Old World, but on her own active, concrete and responsible leadership in them. Above all things, the French trust that the two great Western democracies will form a consortium, a "grand alliance," moral, military, economic and political—the core, in fact, of a subsequent European federation, which congenial states will be invited to join as associates and from which they will reap material benefits of many kinds, as well as the certainty that their national existence will never be jeopardized in the future. More than the

institution of an order that will allow every country of good-will to evolve normally and traditionally, yet in a larger unity, with far greater economic advantages at its disposal, and a stabler assurance of peace than ever before, the French are not prepared to envisage at present.

But whatever is the design, everybody in the land, including the army (I emphasize the last three words because I have a very precise notion that the army will play a role this time in the drafting of the peace terms—the young soldiers have not the slightest intention of letting Germany spring a war on them again in a decade or two), is resolved to take at least one precaution. This precaution concerns the supremely significant question of the Rhine, and is based upon the plans submitted by Marshal Foch to the plenipotentiaries of the Inter-Allied Powers in 1919—plans which, to the unlimited misfortune of the whole of Europe, were discarded by Clemenceau under British and American pressure. “With six divisions,” he wrote, “I can hold the Rhine. Then, we have nothing to fear, and we may disarm. When one is master of the Rhine, one is master of Germany; when one is not master of the Rhine, one is at the mercy of everything.” Nobody predicted more lucidly than he what would happen if the coalition of 1914-1918 renounced the advantages which the control of the Rhine gave to the Allies, and “permitted the shield of its defence to fall from its hands.” (Well, the coalition renounced the advantages and permitted the shield to fall, and so we are where we are today.) The Maginot Line, declare the French very rightly, even if per-

manently manned, constitutes a guard merely against a new attack on France, and, through France on Britain—the rest of Europe is outside the range of its purely defensive protection. It is only from on and beyond the Rhine that control of Germany can operate positively, with Mayence, for instance, as its nucleus. All the signs indicate that when this war is won, France will revert point by point to Foch’s famous note: take the Rhine as her eastern military frontier; debar Germany from military and political access to the Rhineland; occupy for a span of years the Rhenish provinces on the left bank of the river, even covering them by a zone of military neutralization on the right bank; and when she retires—as she will eventually do, having as little wish as the English themselves for territorial expansion or ruling for ruling’s sake or vindictive reprisals—leave them in a state of enduring autonomy, administering themselves and linked with the Western democratic countries by a common customs régime or an arrangement comparable to that of the Saar-land, which would provide an outlet for their economic activities. Another aim which is becoming more and more evidently a complement of the European peace pattern is the establishment of a Danubian federation, a union of free peoples. Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, perhaps Austrians and Hungarians.

ONE LAST word. I should not be doing my job properly as a political observer if I failed to disclose a certain irritation which it is imperative to prevent from gaining further ground in France. Given the adamant conviction in that country that no

security for itself, nor for Europe generally, can be adequate without the total disarmament of the Germans, and that such a disarmament can only be realized by garrisoning the Rhine, it would be well to ponder the effect on French public opinion of the mischievous clamor raised in England by the treat-Germany-tenderly theorists, and the deluded simpletons who believe that "if only *we* behave generously, the Germans will follow suit at once." The English assumption that the overwhelming majority of Germans were the innocent, unsuspecting victims of the Nazi party is dismissed as sheer nonsense. If the English contemplate affording Germany the opportunity, after the war, to muster again her armies, the French are beginning to ask, what are we fighting for? Hitler proclaims *urbi et orbi* that his sole objective is to destroy the British Empire which crushes the globe, that he has no quarrel with France, that he is eager to enter into a durable alliance with her. It would thus appear that France is continuing the war exclusively in defence of Britain, but if Britain is intent upon throwing away the results of this defence, why continue it? German

propaganda is terrifically persistent and insidious—much more so than in England—and the average man needs all the help he can get to refute it, particularly as communist activities are in collusion with Nazi maneuvers. ("Workers of all countries unite so that British capitalism shall be wiped out," is now the slogan of both.) It is extraordinarily stupid to give him the impression that the hardships he is undergoing with admirable fortitude may be unavailing. He does not grudge them yet, but he must feel that these sacrifices will lead to the tangible consequences of an impregnable security, and no misgivings as to the possible half-heartedness of England in the matter of peace aims should arise. Again I reiterate that this is a very real danger—the only grave danger that threatens Anglo-French relations—for nothing infuriates a Frenchman more than to hear described as "chauvinism" what he regards as the plainest commonsense. Events have shown that the French estimate of Germany was far more accurate than the British. It is a question of life or death for the two nations that this long-sightedness of France should not be forgotten.

... AND KIPLING BE DAMNED

By A. N. BENTLEY

When the last shattered plane has been grounded
 And the last bloody battle is fought;
 When the last splendid note has been sounded,
 And the sun set on rust and the rot;
 When the twilight has levelled the chaos,
 And blended the blood with the shot:
 Then who will step up for the payoff?
 And who mouth the last noble thought?

—*Canadian Forum*

Twenty-five Years Ago

World events as interpreted by The Living Age, June 1915

BY June 1915 there was less confusion as to who was fighting whom, the battle lines having been drawn. Italy had renounced the Triple Alliance on May 4, and the London *Nation* applauded her as follows: "Germany's policy of frightfulness has given very special significance to the decision of any power to take part in a war that has discovered such amazing forms of suffering and terror. All the more, therefore, do Britons admire the courage and resolution that have inspired the decision of the Italian Government. It means that Italy is taking her rightful place in the grouping of Europe, and that a nation, whose instincts and whose history proclaim her democratic character, will in future share in the defence of democratic ideas and democratic institutions." . . . The British were contemptuous of America for not being roused to action by the sinking of the *Lusitania* (on May 7) but felt at the same time that she could do more for them than as an anti-German "neutral" than as an open ally. The London *Times* editorialized that it was evident that "the purpose of the German Kaiser, the German Government, and the German people—for in this matter there can be no division of guilt—was wholesale murder and nothing else." But curiously enough, the *Times* considered that the worst feature of the German

"outrage" was the fact that the German Embassy in Washington had warned Americans against travelling on the *Lusitania*, before she sailed. . . . *The Spectator* blamed the pacifist William Jennings Bryan, then Secretary of State, for Wilson's reluctance to make reprisals. . . . The London *Nation* observed that the *Lusitania* was only the latest of a series of German violations of American neutrality and noted the surprise and resentment of the British public at the way in which America took her "international obligations and even her personal injuries." The popular explanations represented America "on the one hand as swayed by purely business considerations, and, on the other, as the paralytic victim of the baser sort of party politics." However, soothed the *Nation*, "Her leaders probably consider that immediate intervention could secure no adequate advantage for her or for the Allied cause, and that if, or when, she comes in, she will do so at the moment when the cup is full." . . . Sydney Brooks in the London *Outlook* wrote that "German outrages, German diplomatic impertinences, will have to be carried very far indeed before they lead to a rupture in German-American relations, and still further before they precipitate war," but added that the Allies already had sympathy and munitions from America and needed no more at

the moment. . . . *Punch* broke out more violently in verse (*Britannia to America*):

"In silence you have looked on felon
blows,
On butcher's work of which the
waste lands reek;
Now, in God's name, from Whom your
greatness flows,
Sister, will you not speak?"

The socialist, feminist Countess of Warwick wrote in the *Fortnightly Review* that "the worst and saddest features of war as waged by the Germans are due to the fact that in their country women were kept more in the background than in the country of any other great power." She believed that, "Whatever the irritation caused by the incidents of war, the Allies know that women the world over are, and will remain, on their side, for the hegemony of a nation that treats woman in peace with contempt and in war with 'frightfulness' cannot be contemplated by our sex." . . . In the *New Statesman*, "S.K.R." (presumably S. K. Ratcliffe) discussed the effect of German propaganda in America. Count von Bernstorff, the German Ambassador, and Dr. Dernburg, director of the German Red Cross organization in the United States, were openly acting also as publicists. Dernburg even went so far as to outline, "as a private person," the terms upon which Germany would be willing to make peace. S.K.R. did not feel, however, that they were very effective. The average American "may, and in many cases does, think that England has made too much moral fuss about the technical viola-

tion of Belgian neutrality. But the fact he cannot get over is the treatment of Belgium and its people by the invading army." German-Americans, through the German-language papers, had been roused almost solidly to patriotic fervor for the Fatherland, but this in itself, though it might prove a "serious embarrassment to the Government at Washington," antagonized the rest of America which still liked to think itself "the great crucible of humanity, the real melting-pot." . . . A British newspaper editor described in the *Cornhill Magazine* how at the beginning of the War, Fleet Street was buzzing with plans for sending armies of correspondents to the front, "with never a doubt as to whether any of them would be allowed to get there. As for a newspaper censorship, perish the thought." (He recalled how, during the Boer War, with no press censorship, "we told the world exactly how many men and guns went in each ship, whence they sailed and whither they were bound.") He found that at first, "My public wanted news of the war, of course, but more than anything else they wanted expression given to their inarticulate fury against Germany and Germany's Kaiser who had brought war into the midst of their comfortable peace." Then there were plenty of war stories of all kinds from Belgium, but when the scene shifted to France the correspondents were soon cooped up where they could get nothing but official communiqués, and other news that did leak through was censored in England by the Government or the newspapers themselves.

Field Day for Headline Writers

THE war is providing a field-day for the headline-writing staff of the *Völkischer Beobachter*. This is the Hitler-owned newspaper, with Munich and Berlin editions, to which, incidentally, all civil servants must subscribe.

Before the outbreak of war, the *Völkischer Beobachter*, although somewhat shriller in editorial context than its contemporaries, made an effort to conform to the generally restrained make-up style of the German press. As a matter of typography, newspapers in the Reich by and large have been more conservative than the press anywhere else in Europe, with such few exceptions as *Le Temps* of Paris, the *Times* of London and the *Manchester Guardian*. Characteristic of the German headline style, even after the advent of the Nazis and the co-ordinated press, was the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, with a dignified (and dull) type display. Even the *National Zeitung* of Essen, the organ of Field Marshal Göring, for all its racist and jingoist abracadabra rarely indulged in more than eighteen-point heads across the breadth of its modest four columns. The weekly *Schwarze Korps*, the consistently irascible organ of the Elite Guards, however exercised it becomes over the iniquities of Britain (or, until last August, of Soviet Russia) rarely generates more editorial steam than will produce a querulous two-column head; and this usually with such non-inflammable *bon mots* as "BE CAREFUL AND WATCH-

FUL!" or such rhetorical nifties as "WHAT IS THE SENTIMENT?"

But the copyreaders inditing captions today for the *Völkischer Beobachter* are apparently enjoying themselves hugely. Editorial restraint, it appears, is non-Aryan, and doubtless of Jewish origin. Anything goes on the *Völkischer Beobachter* copy-desk, and copyreaders are not held to any trite rule that the headline should give some clue to the subject of the accompanying article. Red ink is lavishly splattered to underline six-column streamers, and these front-page editorial pronouncements totally eclipse anything perpetrated during the yellow era of the Pulitzer-Hearst battle in New York.

The guiding principle underlying these fabulous headlines, their typographical style as well as the context, seems to stem from that classic passage in *Mein Kampf* in which Hitler argues, with respect to propaganda, that the degree of man's credulity is in direct ratio to the enormity of the bedtime-story he is given to swallow. Presumably it is also held by the *Völkischer Beobachter* (with by far the largest circulation in the Reich) that the more unintelligible a headline is, the more impressive, awe-inspiring and credible it becomes. Else how explain, extended over a page wider than the *New York Times*, this tidbit of obscurantism: "ADMIRATION FOR GERMANY'S GREAT SELF-ASSERTING PRIDE!" The value of variety is understood, however, and for

frothy reading, over a glass of beer at the corner *Stammkneipe*, the subscriber is given "IS CHURCHILL A JEW BRAT?" across six columns. If this philosophical inquiry exceeds the reader's erudition, the next day he is given his twenty-five pfennigs' worth in "GRAVEST MISGIVINGS IN NORDIC COUNTRIES"—a bit of prescience, by the way, since this revelation appeared in March. The morning grouch and the matutinal bile are increased by: "ARROGANT FRENCH THREAT AGAINST THE NEUTRALS." Presumably good humor is restored the next day with the lively and constructive streamer, "SMASH ENGLAND TO PIECES!"

A petulant note creeps into the *Völkischer Beobachter* (again across six columns, but in less formidable type, because now the news is sobered

by the appearance of divine providence) with "BY THE ORDER OF GOD, THEY WANT TO EXTERMINATE THE GERMAN PEOPLE!" The interrogative head is a favorite: "IS THE PATIENCE OF THE NEUTRALS INEXHAUSTIBLE?" (underlined in red), which might seem a somewhat academic question for the Führer's organ to direct to his own readers. "Impudent," "arrogant," "impertinent," "infamous" and "villainous" are cherished adjectives for headline use and, in type two inches high, they carry an undeniable wallop.

Headline satire in the *Völkischer Beobachter* will take the form, for example, of "GERMANY TO BECOME A PROTECTORATE OF THE WESTERN PLUTOCRACIES"—not always a successful performance, alas, in its new billboard type and callopie eloquence.



—Daily Mirror, London

This is "Travel America Year . . . "

To America's Two Fairs

By MATHEW WALKER

NEVER before have Americans been offered so much inducement to "discover" their own country as during this summer.

With wars hitting every part of Europe in lightning-like fashion, even affecting such popular Caribbean tourist spots as the quaint Dutch West Indies and clamping down awkward restrictions in Britain's possessions in the Western Hemisphere, Americans must stay at home—but they should like it.

Because of the co-operation of the nation's railroads, airlines, bus and steamship companies to help Americans trek cross-continent, Travel America has never been cheaper and, at the same time, more luxurious.

Added incentive is given this year by two international expositions—one in the East, the other in the West. And to reach them, fair visitors are afforded their choice of going from home town to home town, seeing both fairs and returning by different routes. Thus, no matter whether one lives

in the Dakotas or in Texas, the trip to both San Francisco and New York and back home is the same price.

Drastic cuts in the cost of visiting both fairs have been announced. Visitors to the Golden Gate International Exposition during the 1940 season will find attendance costs materially reduced, including tolls on the San Francisco-Oakland Bay Bridge, connecting link with San Francisco, the East Bay cities and Treasure Island, while auto-parking fees have been lowered to 25 cents, half of the charge in 1939.

Admission prices to the New York Fair also have been cut from 75 cents to 50 and, according to World's Fair officials, a family of three out-of-town visitors will be able to make a two-day trip to the fair on Flushing Meadows for \$13.35, exclusive of travel costs. The budget is outlined as follows:

A room for one night, obtained through the Mayor's Official World's Fair Housing Bureau, Chanin Build-

ing, \$2.75; two breakfasts, at a lunch-counter, \$1.50; two lunches, at Fair stands, \$1.80; two dinners at a Fair restaurant, \$4.50; Fair admission, for two days, \$2.50, carfare between room and station, on two days, 30 cents.

Furthermore, a survey of thirty hotels in New York City's famous Times Square area reveals that there are about 20,000 rooms available for every type of budget. One hotel will have a minimum charge of \$1.25; six will operate at \$1.50, one at \$1.75; seven at \$2; eleven at \$2.50; three at \$3, and one at \$3.50. These charges are for single rooms. The minimum rates for double rooms will be reduced to \$1, \$1.25, \$1.50, \$1.75, \$2, \$2.25, and \$2.50 per person. Food prices will be correspondingly moderate. In almost any of the hotels a luncheon can be had for 55 cents, and a dinner for \$1.

In California, too, price "hiking" has been declared strictly taboo, with hotel rates, restaurant prices, amusement costs and transportation charges remaining at normal low levels.

While both Fairs are featuring International Expositions, including most of the warring—and even the vanished nations—their themes are intended to stress the peace and freedom of the United States, with special emphasis on our neighbors to the south in Latin America. Because New York is the main American gateway to Europe, the foreign exhibits are predominately European, with the Far East represented only by a replica of a Shinto Temple of Japan and by a Chinese restaurant.

At the Golden Gate, the Fair combines the mysticism of the East with the vision of the West. There

are works of art of the brobdingnagian world, such as the eighty-foot statue of Pacifica and the 144-foot mural of the Peacemakers. There, heroic works establish a keynote of dignity and power. But down at eye level, around the colorful fountain in the Court of Pacifica and peeking out from the Court of the Seven Seas, are more human figures: a Polynesian group, with young girls listening to a young man improvising music; happy Hindus playing the pipes of Pan; the American Indian; modern women of the world; the North American group showing an Alaskan boy spearing a fish; South American figures and Chinese musicians. Here in the Court of Pacifica are movement and life.

Far up in the clouds, on top of the Tower of the Sun—the outstanding architectural piece on Treasure Island—gleams the golden phoenix, symbol of San Francisco, the city which has risen from its ashes many times.

The Court of the Seven Seas, nearly 1000 feet long and 200 feet wide, has as its central theme the conquest of the waters. It extends from the Court of Pacifica to the Court of Honor. Along the Court of the Seven Seas are lofty pylons, over which are the prows of fabled galleons of the days of the Spanish Main.

MUCH of the things to do and see at both Fairs are free, with the exception of the attractions in the Golden Gate's "New Gay Way" and New York's "Great White Way." In the educational field, the nation's great industries are providing shows that are valued at millions of dollars while various foreign nations and most of the forty-eight states of this country offer what might be termed world

tours in miniature, inasmuch as a Fair visitor can step inside a pavilion which breathes of Turkey, then walk next door to Siam or France.

Choice of foods and drinks of scores of nations will be served in the pavilions of the international areas of both Fairs. The range of prices is broad, with the average charge for lunch less than \$1, and that for dinners in the neighborhood of \$2. Many items at snack bars will cost as little as 15 cents and the prices for cocktails and liquors will vary from a dime for beer to 70 cents for fancier beverages. The favorite dishes of the countries operating restaurants at both expositions will be prepared under the direction of foreign chefs, despite the fact that the armies of both belligerent and neutral countries had first wanted to keep as many of their best cooks on hand as possible; but from each of the nations some cooks have been spared. The international menus will include many unusual dishes, such as fresh caviar from Rumania, game and trout combinations from France, delicacies from Turkey and Venezuela, and groaning smorgasbord spreads from Sweden.

It is a curious fact, but true, that the majority of Americans—particularly those who have traveled abroad—do not know their own country. It is a standing joke that New Yorkers, for instance, think that nothing exists west of the Hudson River, except perhaps, that Hoboken is on the other side of it. The same thing is true for Westerners, who refer to Des Moines as "East" and Chicago as "Far East." The new "See America" slogan, in vogue this year, allows Easterners and Westerners and the Tall Corn Folk to meet as they crisscross the na-

tion. Trips in the United States covering 10,000 miles or more are now available since most of the foreign vacationlands have been cut off. But what Switzerland has to offer is no better than the scenery of West Virginia, and the American Southwest can offer better deserts than Egypt—ancient ruins and all.

Sample round-trip fares are \$135 first class, offered by the American railroads in what is called a "grand circle plan." This fare includes stopovers all over the country and takes the traveler from coast to coast. Many different routes and combinations of routes are offered, and one can even travel across Canada, through the Rockies, at only \$5 additional fare.

On the other hand, for \$11 extra one can travel by boat from New York City to New Orleans, or vice versa, taking the train home from either port. In coaches the fare is as low as \$90, and for \$5 more one can cross Canada in either direction. Boats also may be taken from Galveston, Texas, to New York or travel in the opposite direction at the same \$11 extra fare. Both these sea trips, through the Gulf of Mexico and on the Atlantic, require about five days, and the fare includes stateroom and meals.

By taking advantage of the special low fares offered by the railroads, steamships, planes and buses, every section of the United States can be covered. And, certainly, vacationing Americans should see what they have to preserve in this world upheaval.

Next month: Mississippi, Hudson River, Great Lakes and West Coast cruises.

Speaking of Books

By LEON BRYCE BLOCH

LAST month I held forth at some length about three books, by Americans who were concerned with the historical basis of our democracy. Now appears the perfect sequel to those studies, an exposition of a Frenchman's political philosophy and his evaluation of democracy in America, written by a German presently living in London.

This book, *Alexis de Tocqueville*, by J. P. Mayer, is a rare contribution to the fields of letters and political philosophy. Mr. Mayer has painted a moving picture with authenticity and keen understanding.

The work comes opportunely, at a moment when the cyclical movement of social revolution, which started in the late eighteenth century, has reached the apex of its spiral convolution. At this moment humanity, standing a little awestruck by the immediacy of events, must make decisions which (to paraphrase Herr Hitler) will affect the history of the human race for the next thousand years.

This is no time for bunglers and cowards. Yet stumblebums seem to have won their way into high places, and brave men are tongue-tied by confusion. In this state of trembling impotence, resembling partial anesthesia, perhaps it may be well to permit de Tocqueville to supply a revivifying dosage from his infinite stock of good sense.

I offer de Tocqueville for many

reasons: he is the most brilliant (though most neglected) social philosopher in modern times, he is no dictator, nor can he abide dictatorship, he is a conservative yet a rebel, he is a Frenchman yet he understands America better than most Americans have understood it, his ideas and predictions have stood the test of nearly a hundred years and (what will appeal to most politicians) he is dead.

So that you may know immediately where de Tocqueville stood let me give you his credo. He said over and over again, "I have no traditions, I have no party, I have above all no *cause* save that of liberty and human dignity." This is the rock upon which he built his church. And unless I am a complete fool this is the rock upon which was built also the United States of America.

De Tocqueville, the product and the critic of that revolution which I referred to at the beginning of this piece, not only saw clearly the past and present but also foretold with prophetic vision events in the world today. If statesmen of the democracies had studied and applied his truths during the past ten years—but this is idle conjecture.

In his analysis of world politics, de Tocqueville reached conclusions which are still axioms in the art (or as it is sometimes called, science) of political philosophy. But he was ignored by his contemporaries because

they could not yet comprehend him. Some of his axioms were: that freedom is secure only when accompanied by power in each individual that is inherent, indestructible and eternal; that the important factor in society is not the work but the workman; that in democracies two elements go hand in hand, liberty and equality, and there is no lasting liberty without equality, but that out of this equality must grow leaders of superior ability and ethics in order to preserve the original liberty; that the state is an approximation to the universal law of justice; that when laws become unjust it is the duty of citizens to set up their consciences as law instead and thus eventually remove the unjust law; that democracy and freedom do not perpetuate themselves in any nation, they can be maintained only on certain conditions of intelligence, private morality and religious faith, and cannot be perpetuated without labor.

Mr. Mayer explains his subject's philosophies by tracing his interest in the history of revolution in France from 1784 to 1848. That was one phase, in one country, of the great social revolution which began with the destruction of feudalism and gave birth to democracy under the flag of liberty and equality. It is only the first phase of a revolution which is still progressing. The second phase was the rise of capitalism under the impact of the industrial revolution and the machine age; its high-water mark being the growth of economic aristocracies in all democratic nations. Now we are in the third phase.

In this third phase of the social revolution those countries which never experienced democracy, or who adopted it without sufficient preparation, or

which had too little time to develop it, find the wrench most violent. Nations like Italy, Germany and Russia suffered social dislocations that made dictatorship inevitable. De Tocqueville predicted all that. He also predicted the dangers to democracies. The transition from one revolutionary form to another is never easy.

THE democracies, he pointed out, face two alternatives. Let me quote:

"The question is not whether aristocracy or democracy can be maintained, but whether we are to live under a democratic society, devoid indeed of poetry and greatness, but at least orderly and moral, or under a democratic society, lawless and depraved, abandoned to the frenzy of revolution or subjected to a yoke heavier than any of those which have crushed mankind since the fall of the Roman Empire."

Mr. Mayer points out that de Tocqueville predicted that democracy must eventually come to a crossroads in America. This nation must then make its great decision. But there are inherent weaknesses in our democracy, the Frenchman said, which may destroy it. He warned:

"In my opinion the main evil of the present democratic institutions of the United States does not arise, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, but from their overpowering strength; and I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the very inadequate securities which exist against tyranny." Thus he held with Thomas Jefferson, that centralization of government, with a large portion of political power in the hands of a

few men, is a dangerous thing. However, he had great hopes for political salvation by a superior citizenry. In this connection, he undertook to show, says Mr. Mayer, "in addition to its influence on political affairs, the interconnection of the democratic order of society with the intellectual, emotional and moral substance of a nation."

Mr. Mayer also points out that de Tocqueville was a staunch foe of Machiavelli and his political theories. He hated escapists—those who sought to isolate themselves from the practical problems of the day whether by flight to literature or denial of the importance of politics.

De Tocqueville developed a dialectic of his own, a dialectic that confutes Marx as well as the "economic royalists." Applying this dialectic to his own country he pointed out:

"What most and always amazes me about my country, more especially these last few years, is to see ranged on the one side men who value morality, religion and order, and upon the other those who love liberty and equality before the law. This strikes me as the most extraordinary and deplorable spectacle ever offered before the eyes of man; for all things thus separated are, I am certain, indissolubly united in the sight of God. They are all holy things, if I may so express myself, because the greatness and the happiness of man in this world can only result from their union." Mr. T. S. Eliot seems to have seized upon the above or rather to have been motivated by it toward the writing of his excellent volume, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, which I reviewed some months ago.

De Tocqueville was much concerned with the rise of uniformity in his world, a uniformity which he feared would result in "a new despotism," bureaucracy. He said of this bureaucracy, that it was becoming more inquisitorial and detailed.

"It everywhere interferes in private concerns more than it did," he says, "it regulates more undertakings. . . . The economic activity of the modern state is also on the increase, the government becoming not only the nation's chief industrialist, but tending to invade the domain of all private enterprises, and to bring them forcibly under its control."

It is almost like listening to Republican campaign orators while reading that. However, he was speaking of the leaders of a French revolution, and he said of them:

"They had sought to be free in order to make themselves equal; but in proportion as equality was more established by the aid of freedom, freedom itself was thereby rendered more difficult of attainment."

It seems to me that here is the complete answer to the question why there is no freedom in the Soviet. In Russia freedom was forgotten after an initial attempt at equality.

An extremely interesting prediction of de Tocqueville, and one that he shared with Goethe, was a society of a multitude of men, all equal and alike, working to procure for themselves petty and paltry pleasures. Goethe called it an age of "facilities." It may be called the age of gadgets. These two men were horrified by the prospect. But it is a perfect picture of this thing we call Western Civilization.

Mr. Mayer's book is fascinating

reading, a must for everyone with at least half a mind, and a sure incentive to a fuller reading of de Tocqueville by those with ten cents' worth of curiosity.

ALEXIS DE TOCQUEVILLE. By J. P. Mayer. New York: The Viking Press. 1940. 233 pages. \$3.00.

FAILURE OF A MISSION: BERLIN 1937-39. By Sir Neville Henderson. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 334 pages. \$3.00.

THE British Ambassador to Berlin in 1937-39, Sir Neville Henderson, fills in the picture here of the narrative he outlined in his dispatches published late last year in the *British War Blue Book*. The volume is engrossing for a multitude of reasons, not the least of which is that, since thickheaded diplomacy is responsible for a great share of the world's current tragedies, it is of special interest to examine the mental behavior of a "diplomatist," as the author refers to his fraternity, particularly one occupying so commanding a post as the British ambassadorship to the Reich. Sir Neville Henderson, at the outset of his "failure of a mission," plays down the importance of his profession, suggesting that "the modern ambassador is but a small cog in the machinery of a twentieth-century government," and he would have done better not to have made that unnecessary apologia. In the Berlin of 1937-39, the personality, and the temperament generally, of the British envoy was of enormous importance, as the writer himself makes plain elsewhere in these memoirs: in dealing with a collection of hypersensitive egoists, Sir Neville Henderson soon realized in Berlin that his assignment was not comparable to his previous post in Buenos Aires, where a fairly normal emotional climate prevailed; it was apparent to him, he makes plain, that Hitler and Ribbentrop disliked him because he represented to them, especially to the parvenu Führer, the British upper-class hierarchy, and its bland and disdainful assumption that God created nothing quite so immaculate and beautiful to behold as a well-born Englishman. In disliking the British envoy, the Ger-

man Chancellor, whose flop-house days are not so distant, was moved by simple instincts of class hostility and inferiority—but he disliked Henderson no more than he disliked Chamberlain; Ribbentrop's dislike of the British Ambassador, however, was personal and certainly acute. To the one-time champagne-salesman, Henderson was poison, and Sir Neville Henderson, "diplomatist" though he may be, in this volume, at least, does not hide the fact that the detestation was mutual. In his eyes, and no one will say that the British Ambassador was given to self-delusion, the German Foreign Minister was the Mephistopheles of the piece. A generation hence historians, as has been the case with a number of reviewers of this book, may overlook the enormous significance of the personal hostility between Ribbentrop and Henderson in the genesis of the war. That is no exaggeration if one weighs the dependency of Hitler the last two years upon his foreign minister; as John Gunther writes, the Führer was "bewitched by Ribbentrop's 'wisdom.'" It is no secret that Ribbentrop craved a personal triumph over the British envoy, who symbolized in one person all the official and unofficial snubs, which were many, that he had suffered while serving as German ambassador to the Court of St. James. And a personal triumph over Henderson is what Ribbentrop achieved, according to his own lights; it doubtless is irrelevant to the German Foreign Minister that the chief fruit of his hatred of Henderson was war. It is interesting that, despite Ribbentrop's feeling against the Ambassador, who didn't hesitate to rebuke him (the Foreign Minister!) for unseemly language, the last remark made by Ribbentrop to the departing envoy "was that he wished me well personally." That disclosure comes as a surprise to the reader, who over some 300 pages has noted the accumulating hatred between the two men. Yet it should not be surprising, for certainly Ribbentrop is no fool, and here that unparalleled opportunist felt he was addressing history. It is a credit to Henderson that he wished to include it in this record of a personal feud, which is the blunt, honest label he gave his book.

There can be no doubt that Neville Henderson did his conscientious best to like and understand the Nazi officialdom with which he had contact. Apparently he is tough, wiry and likable, qualities that Anthony Eden rec-

ognized were indispensable at Berlin when, in January 1937, he offered the post to the envoy then at Buenos Aires. Henderson devised a definite program for himself at Berlin. En route there, and pausing at London for advice, he asked Mr. Chamberlain "whether, as Prime Minister, he would object to my being, if I thought it necessary, slightly indiscreet on my first arrival at Berlin. His reply was to the effect that a calculated indiscretion was sometimes a very useful form of diplomacy, and that he had himself recently had experience of its value." (This is a provocative footnote on Mr. Chamberlain, who today is under fire for over-cautiousness; one would very much like to know what "experience," presumably in 1937, Mr. Chamberlain had reference to.) Henderson's question to the Prime Minister does much to explain the subsequent criticism of him, at home, as pro-Nazi and over-sympathetic to the German case. In being seen so much with Field Marshal Göring, in his friendly addresses to the Deutsche Englische Gesellschaft, his attendance at the Nazi rallies at Nuremberg (no British, French or American envoy had attended hitherto), it was mistakenly believed in some London quarters and by some newspapers that he was permitting himself to be taken into camp. But, as he writes, "peace was my big objective, and my influence with the Germans would be nil if I forejudged the Nazis from the start." His seeming friendliness toward the Nazis was merely part of "considered attempts by Mr. Chamberlain to improve Anglo-German relations." Yet he respected and was drawn to Göring, a preposterous man to Henderson but not vulnerable to the treble attacks that made both Hitler and Ribbentrop incomprehensible at times; and at least on one occasion, listening to Dr. Goebbels discourse upon Nazi-Aryan art, he was "charmed both by the natural fluency of his manner of speaking and his extremely agreeable voice." He gives these several devils their due, and he leaned backward to understand Hitler, perhaps a superhuman task; he even patiently recited passages from books that he learned the Führer had read, trying to sell him peace. Conceivably he might have succeeded, the author broadly implies, had Ribbentrop remained a nondescript salesman of champagne, and not directed his talents to statesmanship.

This volume does not give much more of

historical value than was contained in the diplomat's confidential dispatches that were published in the *Blue Book*. But the tone is less formal, and here he does not hesitate to give his personal estimate of the Nazi "cornered maniacs," to employ Mr. Churchill's dramatic but not very topical label not permitted him in the *Blue Book*.

—LAMAR MIDDLETON

WHY WAR? By Nicholas Murray Butler.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 314
pages. \$2.50.

IN HIS book *Why War?* Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler tells us America can bring order out of this turbulent world. According to the superior wisdom of Dr. Butler, it is a very simple procedure. We are to gird our loins with morality and strike with united faith in our ability. Magnificent pronouncements about justice and liberty coupled with vehement criticism of all powerful aggressors should do the trick. Awake the world, as it were.

Making much of the statement (after he strains valiantly to justify it) that "America is now the oldest of all the governments existing in the world," Dr. Butler declares we are duty bound to federalize the world into a great family of nations which he believes would live together as peacefully as our own forty-eight states. He includes all English-speaking peoples in this undertaking, saying they are of necessity the leaders. He states: "For 400 years the conviction has prevailed among English-speaking peoples, and it has been justified by their own experience, that the fundamental principles of democracy were establishing themselves, certainly in the Western World, and would be found adequate to meet the practical needs of modern civilized peoples." But he states further: "The English-speaking peoples seem to regard thinking as something rather remote and impracticable. They consider it clever to deal with events as these come to their notice, without any understanding whatsoever of what the events mean, of how they have come to pass, or of what their consequences must certainly be." He believes the French can be led to think; likewise, the Germans before they "lost all their great characteristics."

It being the duty of the English-speaking peoples to federalize the world, he gives them

a recipe for the accomplishment of the task. Remove the cause of war by a union of all nations. Afterward, men must be led to use their minds to settle post-war differences that bring about hostilities.

This attitude of sweetness and light, in view of the recent destruction that blew through Poland and Finland, seems faintly Utopian to this reader, but perhaps we should repeat, "Get thee behind me, cynicism," until Dr. Butler's philosophy shines through and causes us to see its ultimate value.

His writing is a bit too enthusiastic and breezy, and as we read, the feeling comes over us that we are listening to a chatty old lady who has very little understanding of anything outside her realm of wife and mother. At any rate, a reader finds he can whirl through the book with gratifying speed.

—RICHARD OLIVER

SHANGHAI: CITY FOR SALE. By Ernest O. Hauser. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 1940. 323 pages. \$3.00.

One of the most realistic and dramatic books dealing with the Chinese scene to appear for a long time is Hauser's fascinating biography of the city of Shanghai which mushroomed from a tiny development on a mud flat in the Yangtze estuary into one of the greatest and most fabulous metropolises of the world. It is the story of occidental opportunism and western pillaging of a helpless country. Perched on the fringe of a mighty land, seething with millions upon millions of people exploited by the "Foreign Devils," Shanghai is placed precariously on a powder keg. But as to its location, the city might as well be on the moon, for it certainly is not in the China of the Chinese, but on the very rim of Asia, aloof and disdainful of the people whose sweat and blood and misery have helped to pour untold fortunes into the coffers of the smug *taipans* (traders).

It was the British who wangled the site of Shanghai away from the Chinese, just as they had penetrated and eventually conquered India, in their search for trade and profits. History records that British aimed at making China a second India, and as for the English grip upon China itself, they had almost accomplished the fact. Naturally it took several long and bloody wars to wrest what Britain has in China—plus the blessings of

opium which they forced upon the Chinese, and upon which drug the fantastic fortunes of the Sassoons, Jardine-Mathesons, Butterfields and Swires, Dents, Halls and Holtzes, let alone the American firms such as Standard Oil, Russell & Co. and the American tobacco interests grew fat. Judging from Mr. Hauser's book, one is made to realize that no one lives in Shanghai for health nor even for pleasure, although the night life of the city has resulted in nicknaming Shanghai the "Paris of the Orient." Sodom is the better word.

One of the most intriguing chapters concerns a compact outline of the Chiang Kai-shek—"Charlie Jones" Soong political and financial hierarchy that now rules China to a greater degree than any Emperor. The chapter is aptly titled "A General Sells His Soul," and there can be little disputing of the facts, fantastic as they may seem.

The volume appears opportunely, coming out as it does on the centenary of the infamous Opium War in which Great Britain first seized concessions by force from China, and just after the Shanghai municipal elections in which the Japanese sought unsuccessfully to seize control of the International Settlement government from the British and Americans. The author, who spent many years in Asia as a newspaper correspondent, revisited the Far East in 1939 and was struck by the effect of the Sino-Japanese war upon the life, affairs and attitude of Occidentals in Asia.

His conclusion is that, no matter who wins the war, the white man is beaten. The inference is that if Japan is victorious, Shanghai and all the Yangtze Valley trade—the richest in China—will pass into the hands of the Japanese while the Americans, British, Germans and French will be frozen out; on the other hand, if China finally wins, the victorious Chinese will not be satisfied by the mere withdrawal of Japanese troops, but will heave out all foreigners with an equal gusto.

That is the avowed determination of a New China, a determination which has already shown itself in the past, particularly prior to the Sino-Japanese hostilities when the British were forced to give up their concession at Hankow, and American and British gunboats were compelled to bombard Nanking in order to preserve the lives and property

of their nationals after a victorious Nationalist Army, led by Chiang Kai-shek, seized that capital in 1937.

A dramatic, and readable book, *Shanghai: City for Sale* is a record rich in human interest and a valuable treatise for anyone even remotely interested in China and the white man's selfish "sacrifices" in the interests of the Chinese commercial market.

SEX AND LIFE, *Forty Years of Biological and Medical Experiments*. By Eugen Steinach. New York: The Viking Press. 1940. 252 pages. \$3.50.

The eternal dream of humanity for a fountain of youth in which old men regain their vigor and old women their beauty will most probably never come true. But hundreds of medieval legends have this theme for subject.

The latest discoveries of science, upsetting axioms accepted as final not so long ago, uncovered the "stone of wisdom" by inventing the atom smasher, by which elements can be changed and transformed into other substances. Radio, television and less spectacular because less known discoveries in the realm of biology and medicine should have us feel that almost nothing is impossible except abolition of death itself. Although the idea of changing seventy-year-old men into seventeen-year-old youths may remain a joke, there seems to be little doubt that Dr. Steinach's experiments on rats and later on men, brought about results never expected in our skeptical age. In his book he gives the history of his experiments and discovery, the effect of his process of sterilization. Numerous photographs of rats before, during and after the operative treatment show striking results. Case histories of men attest to the effect on human beings.

DISCOVERING SOUTH AMERICA. By Lewis R. Freeman. New York: Halcyon House. 1940. 360 pages. \$1.59.

Lewis Freeman has turned out one of the most timely and convenient volumes on the Latin-American continent. Taking advantage of the airways, the improved transportation by railways, highways and waterways, the author visited Ecuador, Peru, Chile, the Argentine, Uruguay, Brazil, Dutch Guiana, Venezuela and Colombia, giving an

intimate picture of the peoples, customs, scenery and routes of travel. He found that Latin Americans have outgrown their irritation over our interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine and that the distrust and hatred which were the inevitable aftermath of "dollar diplomacy" are at last giving way before President Roosevelt's "good neighbor policy." Everywhere, he reports, he saw evidence that the ground was prepared for the sowing of the seeds of accord, co-operation and understanding between the two American continents. An invaluable book for anyone who has scheduled South America on his vacation tour this year.

POETS AND POETRY

Hands Across the Sea

By ALFRED KREYMBORG

THERE is a good deal of propaganda in these war days exhorting Americans to send their money and boys across the sea to defend the British Empire and most of this propaganda emanates from British sources on either side of the Atlantic. I for one was about to send my tearful gold and sons abroad when the mail brought in a new magazine from London under the hopeful title, *Horizon*, and as bad luck would have it, I read first of all a charming editorial comment which stated that "two of our most militant left-wing writers (Auden and Isherwood) have abandoned England and are taking out naturalization papers in America—a country which artists up to a few years ago fled in horror, etc." There follows a list of other rene-

gades who for the first time since the eighteenth century have sailed west, and the conclusion is that "whatever happens in the war, America will be the gainer. It will gain enormously in wealth, and enormously (through the refugees) in culture." So I put my hoardings back in the savings bank and spanked my patriotic boys and sent them to bed on the ground that barbarians had better stay at home and let other colonies save the Empire.

These weird reflections over, I decided to seek consolation among the poets themselves: British poets whose art has always been welcome here, war or no war, condescension or no condescension, and I'm happy to report that our publishers have recently issued the *Collected Poems* of A. E. Housman and the *Last Poems and Plays* of William Butler Yeats, two dead men who are very much alive.

Yeats, in his last book, written just before his death in 1939, still overshadows all other poets of the twentieth century, and, by virtue of his great passion and profound intelligence, and the broad base of his lyric and dramatic art, is a monument to English speech anywhere. But not a dead monument! An extraordinary note of rage and wit pervades this new volume, the rage and wit of a man of seventy, the rage and wit of the Greeks in an Irish body and spirit. The use of ritual, of meters that dance, of lyrics that are written for the stage and of plays that are written to be chanted or sung, reveals how primitive in the classic sense Yeats' genius was. There are memorials to the Ireland that was and will never be again, to the grand friends of his

youth and growing age, to the Easter Rebellion, and to the love of a lass greater and more enduring than any world war. This last is in answer to a line in Thomas Mann: "In our time the destiny of man presents its meaning in political terms"—to which Yeats replies:

But O that I were young again
And held her in my arms!

And the raging old man concludes in a final poem:

Under bare Ben Bulbin's head
In Drumcliff churchyard Yeats is laid.
An ancestor was rector there
Long years ago, a church stands near,
By the road an ancient cross.
No marble, no conventional phrase;
On limestone quarried near the spot
By his command these words are cut:
*Cast a cold eye
On life, on death.
Horseman, pass by!*

A master of melancholy song and the epigram, A. E. Housman courted Death throughout a lifetime and Life in turn let him live long and comparatively well. This in itself is irony worthy of his Greek and Latin forebears. The source of his immense popularity may be traced to the ease and perfection of an art which sings pretty much the same song through half a century, a song with exquisite variations, but the same song nonetheless.

To stand up straight and tread the
turning mill,
To lie flat and know nothing and be
still,
Are the two trades of man; and which
is worse
I know not, but I know that both are
ill.

There is something heroic in the tough acceptance of a fate that visits all men, and something to be said for

the strong, clear lines in which that acceptance is imbedded:

Some can gaze and not be sick,
But I could never learn the trick.
There's this to say for blood and
breath,
They give a man a taste for death.

And, in his love for the English lads
who went to battle, we have the moving
drama or novel in the space of
four inclusive lines:

Here dead lie we because we did not
choose
To live and shame the land from
which we sprung.
Life, to be sure, is nothing much to
lose;
But young men think it is, and we
were young.

Although we may prefer the richer
concerns and deeper vitality of Yeats,
with his passion for life at any turn,
there is no denying that Housman was
a great little man, a great minor poet.
And whether we like his philosophy or
not, we cannot mistake or underrate
his absolute integrity of expression.
To those who deplored his pessimism
he replied:

They say my verse is sad: no wonder;
Its narrow measure spans
Tears of eternity, and sorrow,
Not mine, but man's.

This is for all ill-treated fellows
Unborn and unbegot,
For them to read when they're in
trouble
And I am not.

What challenging power and scorn
the last four syllables shoot!

And so these two rebels are gone,
Yeats who rebelled against Death and
Housman against Life: both are
doubtless quiet in earth. But their
verse still breathes an energy the old
earth will keep and men and their

differences cannot destroy. Every
hour in the day infests our earth with
new hells and old lands are destroyed
overnight and their people driven
into death or an incredible refuge. It
is never too late to turn to a poet
whose heart knew no boundaries and
who sings, not in one language, but in
all human speech.

LAST POEMS AND PLAYS. By *W. B. Yeats*.
New York: The Macmillan Co. 126 pages.
\$1.75.

COLLECTED POEMS. By *A. E. Housman*. *New*
York: Henry Holt and Company. 264
pages. \$3.00.

BOOKS ABROAD

UNFINISHED VICTORY. By *Arthur Bryant*.
London: Macmillan. 1940.

(*G. Warburg in the Nineteenth Century and*
After, London)

This book is an apologia for Hitlerism and
also for Imperial Germany. Even the un-
restricted submarine warfare of the Great
War ("inexcusable and indubitably illegal
murder of defenceless women and children
as it seemed to us") is excused as "retalia-
tion" for the British blockade. Mr. Bryant
is entitled to his views, but he is not entitled
to tamper with facts. Nazism is based on
one principle: "Right is what serves the Ger-
man nation." Bryant has altered this slogan
to: "Fact is what serves the Nazi cause."
Sometimes he has confined himself to giving
one side of the facts and omitting the other.
Sometimes he finds it necessary to invent new
facts or to turn existing facts upside down.
Strange method indeed for a man who calls
himself an historian!

It is the purpose of this review to expose
some of the distortions found in Mr. Bryant's
book (considerations of space forbid the ex-
posure of all).

The first chapter of the book is headed
"Famine over Europe" and gives a lurid pic-
ture of German sufferings towards the end of

the Great War and after. Here the *Dolchstoßlegende* appears in all its glory: "In November 1918, sooner than face another winter of starvation, the German people, broken by blockade, forced their Government to surrender." No word of Ludendorff's frantic appeals in September 1918, for an immediate armistice. No word of Foch's great victory. According to Bryant the German Army was unbroken to the end. The "historian" apparently has failed to study the facts.

To emphasize the suffering of the German people even after the Armistice, Bryant claims that "in 1919, when the minimum weekly subsistence level was calculated at 330 marks, 77 per cent of the population of Berlin were receiving an average wage of 162 marks a week, of which 10 per cent had to be paid in indemnity tax to the victorious Allies." The "historian" overlooks the fact that the indemnity or reparations were not imposed upon Germany before the Peace Treaty came into force—that is, 1920. As to the 10 per cent so-called indemnity tax, no such tax ever existed in Germany. He confuses it with the income tax, which indeed was 10 per cent for unmarried people without dependents.

Chapter 2 is headed "The Pound of Flesh"—that is, of course, the Treaty of Versailles, according to Mr. Bryant, the root of all evil. In order to make the Versailles Treaty appear even harsher than it was, he compares it with a peace offer made by the Central Powers at the end of 1916, which, according to him, included the return to the *status quo* of 1914, "together with the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France." It is a pity that Mr. Bryant does not reveal where he discovered this mythical peace offer. Historians ought to produce documentary evidence when revealing new facts. The Central Powers did, of course, make a peace offer at the end of 1916, but it contained no word of a return to the *status quo* of 1914, let alone the return of Alsace-Lorraine to France.

In his description of the negotiations at Versailles Mr. Bryant relies exclusively on the most bitter opponents of that Treaty, again a method hardly in keeping with the reputation of an historian. Mr. Bryant agrees that the principal territorial changes made by the Treaty were not unjust, but at the same time he bewails the fate of the German minorities which came under Polish rule, stressing in true Hitlerian vein the fact that the Germans had brought their culture to Poland.

L. SCHUCMAN

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But while Bryant nevertheless admits the justice of the territorial changes, he condemns violently, a few paragraphs later, the economic penalties of the Treaty. "Three-quarters of Germany's iron ore, more than half her zinc ore and smelting, a quarter of her lead ore, nearly a third of her coal and a fifth of her iron and steel industry was taken from her." And, "The guiding principle of the peacemakers was not pacification but punishment."

He forgets that all these raw materials and industries were situated in Alsace-Lorraine and in districts inhabited by a Polish majority. Was Germany to keep Lorraine because of the iron ore? This question is not even raised.

Chapter 3 is called "In Time of Breaking of Nations." It purports to show republican Germany, or, as Hitler would call it, Germany during the fourteen years of disgrace. The Communists, the Socialists, the Jews, all are portrayed as the Nazis would like us to see them.

There is Hitler, blinded by gas, lying in the military hospital and seeing sailors led by Jews swarming out of their lorries and calling on the war veterans to revolt. Mr. Bryant does not name the source of this picture. He simply relates Hitler legend from *Mein Kampf* as a fact. In Munich at the same time loud-speakers blared out "Down with Capitalism!" and the Jew, Kurt Eisner, stirred up the crowd. Loud-speakers in Germany in 1918—well, they did not exist then. In the next pages he confuses the Independent Socialists with the Communists, he calls Hugo Haase a leader of the Communist revolution and makes him the organizer of the Sailors' Revolt at Kiel. Again a pure invention. Eisner and Toller are also called Communists. The Communist leader, Liebknecht, is made out to be a Jew. In short, a typical Nazi hotch-potch of misrepresentations. Mr. Bryant sums up: "That theoretical sympathy for Communism among the well-to-do and sheltered classes in this island which has surprised and sometimes enraged the inhabitants of countries situated nearer the storm centers of Eastern Europe and Asia. . . ." Who does not hear here the voice of Herr von Ribbentrop? In almost the same words he tried to win over Britain for the anti-Comintern Pact. That was, of course, before he went to Moscow.

In the next paragraph Mr. Bryant deals with the occupation of the Rhineland by the French. He mentions the suppression of

German liberties under the French rule, but forgets to tell his readers that this lasted only a very short time after the war and that since 1924 the Germans enjoyed full political liberty in the occupied zone. He also forgets to mention that the French voluntarily evacuated the occupied zone five years before the term stipulated in the Peace Treaty.

The next item is inflation. Nobody denies that the German people suffered severely, but there are different views possible about the reasons for the inflation. Undoubtedly the great industrialists played some part in it. Undoubtedly they made enormous profits out of it.

But Mr. Bryant accepts the Nazi theory that the Jews were the guilty parties. He does not even attempt to prove this slander. Only once does he approach such an attempt. "They [the Jews] did so with such effect that even in November 1938, after five years of anti-Semitic legislation and persecution, they still owned, according to *The Times* correspondent in Berlin, something like one-third of the real property in the Reich. Most of it came into their hands during the inflation." On looking up *The Times* of November 22, 1938, one finds that *The Times* correspondent did not report this as a fact, but merely as a claim made by the Nazis, and he did not mention a word about the inflation. Such are the methods of quotation employed by a man who calls himself an historian. His description of the inflation in Germany would be merely laughable if it were not intended to mislead people in this country and make them more favorably inclined towards Hitlerism.

The next item in this chapter is the Jews. It is made to appear that they actually ruled republican Germany, they were to be found in every Government, they almost monopolized the professions, universities, some important branches of trade, and finance; they had the cultural life of Germany in their hands and destroyed it by means of pornographic and anti-Christian publications; they were in the forefront of the vice racket and they were responsible for every case of corruption and graft. Occasionally Mr. Bryant gives figures or relates the names of dubious plays and books. But strangely enough he never names his source. Equally strangely, all his book and play titles, all his quotations are to be found in one of the anti-Jewish Nazi propaganda publications, *Die Juden in Deutschland*, published by the notorious Institut zum Studium der Judenfrage. Did Mr. Bryant feel that everybody would realize the

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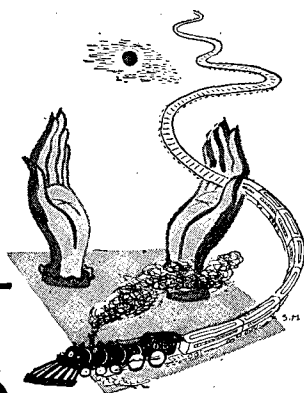
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figures to be faked Nazi figures if he had given the source? Or did he, as an historian, feel some shame at using such dubious material? But then, why did he use it at all?

The last two chapters deal with Hitler, "the dreamer of Munich," and his men, "the men of iron." What he writes about Hitler is practically without exception taken from one source only, *Mein Kampf*. Naturally, any historian writing about Hitler must use this book, but does not a serious historian require other sources as well? Mr. Bryant praises Hitler as a military hero. Does he not know that Hitler's military achievements are, to say the least, very much debated? He states further that after the war Hitler was, on account of his loyalty, appointed a regimental instructor. Actually he was appointed not on account of his loyalty, but on account of his hostility to the Government of the day.

Mr. Bryant describes the Nazi Party as a poor party, obtaining its funds almost entirely through the patriotism of its members, whereas in fact the Nazi Party was the richest of all, as it was subsidized by the heavy industries.

He wails about the suppression of the Nazi Party by the republican Government and the many casualties the party suffered from attacks by Communist gangs, but he keeps silent about the fact that the Nazis even before obtaining power killed more Republicans and Communists in street affrays than they themselves lost.

In short, Mr. Bryant's whole book is a Nazi apology based on the distortion of facts, most of which ought to be known to anyone interested in politics and most certainly ought to be known to anyone claiming to be an historian.

On the whole it is remarkable that in a book written by an historian hardly any sources worthy of an historian are mentioned. Where sources are mentioned—and that does not occur too frequently—Mr. Bryant relies mainly on works by journalists giving their impressions of Germany, but none of these journalists would be so bold as to claim that his book could be regarded as conclusive evidence for an historian. The fact that Bryant, besides these journalistic works, uses other very dubious evidence, as has been shown above, and conceals the source of his statements, ought to put an end to any claim he may have to be taken seriously as an historian.

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